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FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

This issue of Byzantine Studies *marks the initial appearance of the journal under the auspices of Arizona State University. I have completed the transfer of the editorial and business operations to Tempe, where I shall continue to edit and publish the journal.* Byzantine Studies *is two years behind schedule, but I expect to have it back on a regular timetable by the end of this year. These have been difficult times, due primarily to the inability of the previous sponsoring institution to provide adequate editorial, clerical, and production services.*

The University Center for International Studies of the University of Pittsburgh has committed itself to publish Vol. 3, Part 1 (1976) of Byzantine Studies. *As I send Part 2 to press this commitment has not been fulfilled. Will the University of Pittsburgh meet this obligation? To find out I suggest that subscribers contact Mr. Carl Beck, Director, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.*

In the meantime I want to thank the editor, book review editor, contributors, and subscribers for bearing with me over the past two years.

Charles Schlacks, Jr.

Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines, 3, Part 2 (1976), 1-29.

ARTICLES

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR (Dallas, Tex., U.S.A.)

Chicago 2400 and the Byzantine Acts Cycle

The elusive character and questionable existence of the Byzantine *Acts* cycle have attracted much scholarly attention of late. Ernst Kitzinger has written on the iconographic sources of the Peter and Paul cycles in the Cappella Palatina and Monreale; Kurt Weitzmann has spoken on the *Praxapostolos* as a type of text likely to have received pictorial illumination; Sirarpie der Nersessian has studied the schematic, small-figure illuminations of *Walters Art Gallery MS 533* and *Mt. Sinai MS 275*; Herbert Kessler has published the miniatures prefacing *Paris gr. 102*; Dorothy Glass has investigated the Byzantine sources of the Sessa Aurunca archivolt; and, most recently, Luba Eleen has studied the *Acts* cycles in four richly illuminated Byzantinizing manuscripts of the thirteenth century from Italy.[1] It is high time, therefore, to say something about the only extensive cycle of illustrations that survives in a Byzantine book of the *Acts* itself. This is in the *Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, a lavishly illuminated manuscript of the Greek New Testament, made in the second half of the twelfth century. It is now identified as *MS 965* in the library of the University of Chicago, but is more familiarly known as *Chicago 2400*, after its number in Gregory's listing of New Testament texts.[2]

Chicago 2400 preserves thirteen of an original twenty *Acts* miniatures, distributed with diminishing density over the first four quires of the *Praxapostolos* text.[3] The first, an author portrait of St. Luke which is now missing, prob-

1. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), pp. 33-48; K. Weitzmann, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 76; Sirarpie der Nersessian, "The Praxapostolos of the Walters Art Gallery," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken (Baltimore, 1974), pp. 39-50; H. Kessler, "*Paris gr. 102*: A Rare Illustrated Acts of the Apostles," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 27 (1973), 209-16; Dorothy Glass, "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Aurunca," *Art Bulletin*, 52 (1970), 119-31; and Luba Eleen, "Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium" (in press). I am indebted to Dr. Eleen for a copy of her typescript, to which the page numbers given here refer.

2. E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1932).

3. As in the Gospel cycles, the selection of *Acts* miniatures in the Chicago New Testament depends to some extent on their distribution within the quires. Here as there, the first quire is by far the most extensively illuminated, with miniatures on all but one folio. In the subsequent quires, as in the Gospel cycles, the miniatures tend to be concen-

ably occupied the top half of the first page, as the manscript's portraits of the Evangelists do. The other nineteen miniatures were separately framed illustrations, each including one episode only, and each placed just above the passage to which it referred. The surviving miniatures include Peter and the Disciples (fol. 106r), the Election of Matthias (fol. 106v), the Pentecost (fol. 107r), the Healing at the Beautiful Gate (fol. 108v), Peter and John before the High Priests (fol. 109v), the Destruction of Ananias (fol. 111r), the Vision of St. Stephen (fol. 114v), Saul led to Damascus (fol. 115r), Paul baptized by Ananias (fol. 115v), the Healing of Tabitha (fol. 116v), Peter's Vision (fol. 117r), Peter's Liberation from Prison (fol. 119v), and Paul healing the Lame Man in Lystra (fol. 122v). The initial six surviving miniatures, all grouped in the first quire, are generally small (six to seven cm. high), schematic, and awkwardly composed; the remainder are large (between eight and eleven cm. high) and confidently composed, with flamboyantly colored landscape or architectural backgrounds. The duality of small and large miniatures echoes the similar duality in the manuscript's Gospel scenes, and may be no more than a reflection of that. It almost certainly reflects a change in hand: even when he tries his luck at a large, vertical composition like those in the second group, as he does in the Destruction of Ananias (fig. 6), the painter of the first quire cannot capture the flamboyant color schemes and large, confident figures that characterize the second master. Yet the break between them comes at an interesting point, and can be interpreted to indicate that the cycle was based on different models. The initial group includes some scenes which can be derived only from the text of the *Acts* itself. The second group, which opens with the Vision of St. Stephen (fig. 7), can be reconstructed to deal entirely with the lives of SS. Peter and Paul. This is, in fact, the way it was reconstructed by H. R. Willoughby, in the only published study of the Chicago miniatures.[4] In order to reconstruct the cycle in this manner, Willoughby had to postulate the use of three apocryphal scenes: the Fall of Simon Magus, the Ecstatic Meeting of Peter and Paul, and the Dispatching of Silas and Timothy. All of these can be seen in the cycle of Peter and Paul at Monreale, which is markedly close in style and date to the Chicago manuscript.[5] None of them, however, occurs in the text of the *Acts* itself. The limping inarticulateness of the small scenes and the abrupt shift in size and quality with the advent of St. Paul

trated on certain bifolia. Six of the eight miniatures originally included in the second quire (fols. 112-17) were on the inner two bifolia, but the central bifolium has become lost, carrying with it the scenes of Philip and the Eunuch, Simon Magus (?), and the Conversion of St. Paul. Only two scenes illuminate the third quire (fols. 118-23), and these are both on the second bifolium, the Liberation of St. Peter on folio 119v and the Healing of the Lame Man at Lystra on folio 122v. The fourth quire, too, had only two miniatures (fols. 124-29), and these have become lost with the third bifolium. The choice of scenes was apparently determined as much by exigency as by any overall iconographic scheme.

4. Goodspeed, *et al.*, *New Testament*, III, 319-27.

5. O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949), figs. 79 and 83.

could be seen as evidence that the Chicago cycle was a composite, drawn whenever possible from an illustrated saint's life of Peter and Paul, and invented at first hand with awkward spontaneity when the pictures had to be based on the text of the *Acts* itself. This was apparently Willoughby's conclusion when he went about his reconstruction of the Chicago cycle, drawing on hagiographic rather than biblical imagery to supply the missing miniatures. Willoughby assumed, in short, that there was no Byzantine *Acts* cycle as such, that could have served as a model for the Chicago manuscript, and he reconstructed its cycle to support this assumption.

Most Byzantine monuments dealing with material from the *Acts* support Willoughby's assumption. This is certainly true of the cycles of Peter and Paul in Sicily,[6] and it is equally true of the Painter's Guide of Dionysius of Fourna.[7] All of these are essentially cycles of the lives of SS. Peter and Paul, and all of them go beyond canonical material to include apocryphal themes such as the Fall of Simon Magus and the Ecstatic Meeting.

A small number of Byzantine cycles does, however, seem to have been designed to illustrate the text of the *Acts* itself. The most extensive of these is at Dečani.[8] It occupies one groin-vaulted bay in the church's large narthex, and belongs to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The narrative begins with the scene of the Healing at the Beautiful Gate and runs through Paul's Preaching in Damascus, comprising twenty-one episodes in all. As in the Chicago New Testament, the Healing at the Beautiful Gate is followed by scenes of Peter and John before the High Priests and the Destruction of Ananias. These are followed by six further episodes of Peter and John's ministry, including several distinctly minor ones. Far from a *Vita* of St. Peter, the

6. Kitzinger, *Mosaics of Monreale*, pp. 33-48. See Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily*, pp. 294-99 and figs. 40-43 and 77-83.

7. A. N. Didron, *Das Handbuch der Malerei vom Berge Athos* (rpt. Trier, 1855), pp. 342-49.

8. V. R. Petković, "Un cycle des peintures de l'église de Dečani," *Bulletin de la Société scientifique de Skoplje*, VII-VIII, Section des sciences humaines, 3-4 (1930), 83-89 (in Serbian with French summary). More recently, see Eleen, "Acts Illustration," pp. 24 ff. Some of the frescoes are in poor condition, and an interpretation of their subject matter is unclear. Petković lists the subjects as the following: Healing at the Beautiful Gate, Peter and John before the High Priests, Peter destroys Ananias and Sapphira, Peter and John heal the Sick with their Shadow, Peter and John taken to Prison, Peter and John delivered by an Angel, the Convening of the Heads of Jerusalem, Peter and John thrown out of Jerusalem, the Stoning of St. Stephen, Paul and Silas beaten, Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, the Burial of St. Stephen (or Paul dragged at Lystra), Philip and the Eunuch, the Eunuch baptized by Philip, Philip taken away by an Angel, Saul gets Permission to seize Christians, Saul's Conversion, Saul led to Damascus, Paul baptized by Ananias, Paul preaching in Damascus. More recently, Luba Eleen has questioned Petković's attribution of the scenes showing Peter in prison. Since two saints are shown in prison, Petković feels that these refer to *Acts* v. 17-40. The Angel would in this case be an interpolation, carried over from the very similar story of Peter in prison in *Acts* xii. 1-10. Eleen feels that the scenes represent the arrest of Peter and James in *Acts* xii. 1-10, but does not explain the fact that two saints are liberated.

sequence is a word-by-word exposition of the narration in *Acts*, including minor as well as major scenes. The cycle then turns to the Stoning of St. Stephen and scenes of Philip and Paul. It shifts from saint to saint as the text of the *Acts* does, and in much the same sequence. Every illustration has a firm basis in the text,[9] and the apocryphal stories so popular in saints' lives do not occur. In its detailed accompaniment of the text, its shifting from saint to saint in biblical sequence, and its strictly canonical content, the Dečani cycle is clearly an *Acts* cycle.

Three earlier monuments indicate that the *Acts* cycle seen at Dečani had Middle Byzantine if not yet deeper roots. The most important of these is the twelfth-century *Acts* manuscript, *Paris gr. 102.*[10] This is prefaced by a page with four scenes arranged in a grid pattern. Three of these four—the Healing at the Beautiful Gate, the Stoning of Stephen, and the Liberation of Peter—have been seen already in the Chicago and Dečani cycles. The fourth shows Herod ordering the death of St. James. Assembling as they do a series of peak moments, these scenes can easily be dismissed as an *ad hoc* compilation from various sources, made on the spot to suit the demands of this particular book. Yet they fit the words of the biblical text exactly. Moreover, there is evidence that the Martyrdom of St. James, like the scenes of Peter, John, and Stephen, was a standard element in what can only be understood to have been a Byzantine *Acts* cycle. As Luba Eleen has shown, the Martyrdom of James is seen also in four Western monuments of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two of these are manuscripts of the *Acts*, which she attributes to Verona in the thirteenth century, and two are cycles of St. Peter, one in the late twelfth-century archivolt of the Cathedral at Sessa Aurunca, and one in the late twelfth-century German Gumpert Bible.[11] These monuments share little beyond their common receptivity to Byzantine influence. The Martyrdom of James was otherwise unknown in the West is this context, and its appearance in *Paris 102* suggests that it came into the Western monuments by way of the Byzantine models influencing them. It is easier to imagine these models as cycles of the *Acts* than to imagine independent cycles of the Lives of Peter and James reaching and influencing widely separated Western workshops in the same way.

A second important monument from the Middle Byzantine period is the Vercelli Rotulus, an artist's copy of the eleventh-or twelfth-century wall

9. The only possible exception would be the Angel liberating Peter and John, if the scenes do, indeed, represent *Acts v.* 17-40. This, as Petković explains, might be a borrowing from the more famous scene of Peter's liberation, adopted in order to visualize the miraculous liberation of Peter and John.

10. Kessler, "*Paris gr. 102.*"

11. Eleen, "Acts Illustration." The Veronese manuscripts are *Vatican lat. 39* and *Vatican Chigi A IV 74.* The Gumpert Bible is in *Erlangen Universitätsbibliothek 121.* For the Sessa Aurunca archivolt, see Glass, "Archivolt Sculpture."

paintings in the nave of the Vercelli Cathedral in Italy.[12] Though Italian, this twenty-seven-scene sequence is liberally laced with Byzantine elements. It begins with the Pentecost and runs through Paul's Preaching in Jerusalem, including episodes from the lives of Peter, John, Paul, Philip, and Silas. It emphasizes St. Peter, and illustrates his life with scenes easily paralleled in Byzantine monuments. Thus the Healing at the Beautiful Gate and Peter's Liberation are seen in Dečani,[13] the Chicago manuscript (fol. 106r, 119v), *Paris 102*,[14] and the mosaics in the Cappella Palatina and Monreale;[15] the Destruction of Ananias is seen at Dečani[16] and Chicago (fol. 111r); the Healing of Aeneas is seen in Sicily and the Healing of Tabitha is seen in the Chicago manuscript (fol. 116v) as well as in Sicily;[17] the story of Cornelius is shown in *Paris gr. 923* (fol. 163v) and the eleventh-century frescoes at Sancta Sophia in Kiev;[18] and Peter's Vision is illustrated in *Paris gr. 923* (fol. 163v) and Chicago (fol. 117r). More surely indicative of Byzantine impact are the four scenes of St. Philip and the Eunuch. Rare in the West, these are standard in Byzantium,[19] and appear here in their standard Byzantine compositional form, as can be seen by comparing them with the miniature in the Basil Menologion or the scenes at Dečani.[20] Thus Vercelli must mirror a Byzantine model, and most probably this model was a cycle of the *Acts*. Like Dečani and *Paris 102*, it assembles a variety of episodes whose sole mutual relevance is their inclusion in the book of *Acts*. Moreover, it is strictly canonical. This is

12. C. Cipolla, "La pergamena rappresentante le antiche pitture della Basilica S. Eusebio in Vercelli," *Miscellanea di storia italiana,* 55 vols. in 37 (Torino, 1862-1935). XXXVII. The scroll is in the Archivio Capitolare in Vercelli. The scenes included in it are: the Pentecost, the Healing at the Beautiful Gate, the Destruction of Ananias, Simon Magus rebuked by Peter, the Healing of Aeneas, the Healing of Tabitha, Paul and Silas in Prison, Paul and Silas casting out a Spirit, Peter's Vision and Peter receiving the Ambassadors of Cornelius, Philip instructed by an Angel to meet the Eunuch and meeting the Eunuch, Philip teaching the Eunuch and baptizing Him, Saul requesting Letters and his Conversion, Ananias having his Vision of Saul, healing Saul, and baptizing Him, Paul disputing with the Jews and baptizing, Paul raising Eutychus, Paul beaten and led to his Execution, Paul's Apprehension foretold.

13. Petković, "Cycle de Dečani," pl. 3.

14. Kessler, *"Paris gr 102,"* pl. 1.

15. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily,* figs. 42A, and 81B.

16. Petković, "Cycle de Dečani," pl. 2.

17. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily,* figs. 42A, 42B, 82A, and 83.

18. V. N. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics from the XI to the XVI century* (London, 1966), p. 234 and pl. 45.

19. Philip and the Eunuch are shown in *London British Library, add. 19352,* fol. 85v; *Moscow Historical Museum 129,* fol. 65r; *Mount Athos Pantocrator 61,* fol. 85v; *Vatican gr. 1613,* fol. 107v; and at Dečani. See Sirarpie der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du moyen âge, II: Londres, add. 19352,* Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 4 (Paris, 1970), fig. 138; Suzy Dufrenne, *L'illustration des Psautiers grec du moyen âge,* I: *Pantocrator 61, Paris grec 20, British Museum* 40731, Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, 1 (Paris, 1966), pl. 11; and *Il Menologio di Basilio II. Codices e Vaticanis Selecti quam simillime expressi,* ser. maior (Vatican, 1899-), VIII, 107v.

20. For Dečani, see Petković, "Cycle de Dečani," pls. 8 and 9. For *Vatican gr. 1613,* See *Il Menologio,* 107v.

especially striking in the case of Peter rebuking Simon Magus. Vercelli's is the only canonical treatment of this popular theme known in its period,[21] and so offers an emphatic testimony to the authority of the biblical over the hagiographic texts. The canonical content, Byzantinizing imagery, and shifting from saint to saint in biblical sequence indicate that Vercelli reflects a Byzantine *Acts* cycle, and that such a cycle must have existed in the twelfth if not in fact already in the eleventh century.

It was probably a very old one. Rather than a product of the twelfth-century expansion in narrative imagery, the *Acts* cycle seems to have had roots in the immediately post-Iconoclastic era if not even earlier. This is suggested by the seventeen scenes from the *Acts* in *Paris gr. 923*.[22] *Paris gr. 923* is so extravagantly polycyclic that one cannot automatically assume a common source for any cluster of images in it. The seventeen scenes may, once again, be an *ad hoc* compilation. Two factors militate against this conclusion, however. In the first place, *Paris 923* includes several scenes which are closely bound to the biblical text and are rare in any but *Acts* cycles. There is Stephen's Vision on folio 40r, illustrating a passage just before his Stoning and pre-empted by his Stoning in every instance except *Chicago 2400* (fol. 114v); there is a canonical version of Peter rebuking Simon Magus (fol. 146v); and there is the image of the Apostles appointing Seven Deacons (fol. 163v). In the second place, there is the continued afterlife of images used in the Paris *Sacra Parallela*. Details of iconographic usage seen in *Paris 923* can still be found three hundred years later in cycles associated with the *Acts*. Thus the image of the Destruction of Ananias, showing simultaneously in perpendicular arrangement the living and the dead victim, is seen not only in *Paris 923,* folios 314r and 314v (fig. 14), but in *Chicago 2400* (fig. 6) and Sessa Aurunca.[23] Likewise, the singular image of Stephen's Vision, unique among versions of Stephen's Stoning in that the saint is shown standing, is seen outside of *Paris 923* (fig. 15) only in *Chicago 2400* (fig. 7). These iconographic parallels and the specificity of the episodes they illustrate suggest that there was a body of Byzantine *Acts* imagery, based on the biblical text itself and alive if not extensively used throughout the Middle and Late Byzantine centuries.

21. For scenes of Simon Magus in Byzantine art, see below, p. 10.

22. On *Paris gr. 923,* see K. Weitzmann, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1975), p. 17 and n. 45. The scenes include Stephen in the Synagogue (fol. 13r), Paul with the Epicureans (fol. 13r), Paul exhorting the Disciples (fol. 28v), Paul preaching (fol. 34r), Stephen's Vision (fol. 40r), Peter rebuking Simon Magus (fol. 146v), the Apostles appointing seven Deacons (fol. 163v), Cornelius the Centurion (fol. 163v), Peter's Vision (fol. 163v), Paul addressing the Elders of Ephesus (fol. 188v), Paul healing the Lame Man (fol. 213r), Peter and John healing with their Shadow (fol. 213r), Paul healing the Father of Publius (fol. 213r), Paul preaching (fol. 283r), the Destruction of Ananias (fol. 314r), and the Destruction of Sapphira (fol. 314v).

23. Glass, "Archivolt Sculpture," fig. 2.

Though flexible in its choice of individual episodes, this cycle did follow a consistent course through the complicated text as a whole, stressing the miracles of St. Peter, the conversion of St. Paul, the story of Philip and the Eunuch, and the martyrdoms of SS. Stephen and James. Its characteristic pattern of movement was to pass over a number of events and then settle on one and deal with it exhaustively in several episodes. These must have been more richly and densely illustrated than has ever been postulated for an *Acts* cycle. Often only one image remains to us as a token of a whole sequence: thus Stephen invoking his vision in *Chicago 2400,* or Herod ordering the execution of James in *Paris 102.* At some point these events must have been worked out with very dense sequences. One can get a feeling for this density if one looks at the Philip sequence in Vercelli, or lines up the surviving illustrations of the Liberation of St. Peter. Thus at Monreale one sees the Angel approaching the prison;[24] in *Paris 102*[25] and *Chicago 2400* (fig. 12) one sees him approach the sleeping Peter and, by coming in contact with him, burst his chains; in the *Codex Ebnerianus* and the Sicilian cycles one sees the Angel lead Peter away.[26] It is not clear whether any one source contained a full set of the available vignettes, or in what form they were passed on. It is clear, however, that a number of them reached the twelfth century. Moreover, they remained closely bound to the text. As seen in surviving examples, the Byzantine *Acts* cycle was strictly canonical.

The evidence culled from the monuments has an inevitable impact on the cycle of *Chicago 2400,* the more so since its surviving miniatures agree with this evidence entirely, and its missing miniatures can be reconstructed to mirror it in every respect. Turning to the Chicago cycle in the light of these others, one finds a well-precedented sequence of scenes. These probably began with the Ascension, usually illustrated in the Gospels, but actually narrated in the text of the *Acts.* The Ascension miniature, with the appropriate page of text, is now missing from the Chicago manuscript. Thereafter, the cycle fell into six triplets of scenes.

The first of these triplets deals with the Apostle community. Its miniatures are complete, and include Peter and the Disciples (fig. 1), the Election of Matthias (fig. 2), and the Pentecost (fig. 3). These scenes belong to the text of the *Acts* proper, and it is above all on their groping compositions that an interpretation like Willoughby's must rest its case. Of the three, the final one of the Pentecost is a widespread image, and too conventional in this case to be of help in dating or localizing the cycle. The first of the three composi-

24. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily,* fig. 82B.

25. Kessler, *"Paris gr. 102,"* pl. 1.

26. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily,* fig. 41B. In Dečani, one sees a three-scene sequence of Peter arrested, visited by an Angel , and led away from prison, but this may refer to the arrest of Peter and John in *Acts* v. 17-40 (see above n. 8). The picture of Peter released from Prison is not reproduced in sources I have cited.

tions, on the other hand, is an adaptation of Christ bidding farewell to the Apostles, so literally translated that Peter still retains his accustomed position at the head of the left-hand group. This careless redundancy suggests that the scene is, as Willoughby would imply, an *ad hoc* creation of the Chicago miniaturist. The very similar scene of Peter and the Apostles in the Gaibana Epistolary of 1259 shows that it is, on the contrary, a scene with a tradition, and probably taken over from some other *Praxapostolos*.[27] The accusation of improvisation might be applied with far greater justification to the thoroughly inarticulate image of the Election of Matthias. This event has no existing parallel in Byzantine art. It does have a tradition in Syrian art, but each version here is different, and the one closest in date to the Chicago miniature, in *Cambridge University Library syr. 001/002*, is so crowded and ambiguous in composition that no ready relationship can be established.[28] The theme was illustrated, however, in the *Horus Deliciarum*.[29] It was not copied in any surviving drawing, so it is impossible to know whether it resembled the Byzantine one or not. But it is true that other scenes in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, including one in *Acts*, do resemble those in *Chicago 2400*.[30] There is no Western tradition which would explain the Election of Matthias in the *Hortus*, and so its use may reflect a Byzantine tradition. While the composition in *Chicago 2400* may be an improvisation, then, the more conventional possibility of an awkward condensation from Byzantine sources cannot be discounted.

Thus the evidence of the first triplet militates against the theory that the scenes bound to the text of the *Acts* itself were improvised to fill out a selection of subjects drawn from hagiographic cycles. With this, the Chicago New Testament contributes a whole new chapter to the reconstruction of the Byzantine *Acts* cycle, and shifts from being a witness against to being an emphatic witness for the existence of such a cycle.

The second triplet of scenes is devoted to the ministry of Peter and John. It opens with the miracle at the Beautiful Gate (fig. 4), and continues with

27. C. Bellinati and S. Bettini, *L'epistolario miniato di Giovanni do Gaibana* (Vicenza, 1968), II, pl. 76v.

28. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriagues à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient, Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue syriaque*, Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, t. 77 (Paris, 1964), pp. 160 and 249, on the treatment of this subject in *Florence Laur. Plut. I 56*, fol. 14, and *Cambridge University Library ms. syr. 001/002*, fol. 295r. On this latter, see also J. Leroy, "Le cycle iconographique de la Buchanan Bible, manuscrit syriaque de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Cambridge," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 6 (1952), 103-24.

29. Herrad van Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. J. Walter (Strasbourg-Paris, 1952), p. 55.

30. Notable among these parallels are the demoniacs with their white pyjamas, seen in *Chicago 2400* on fols. 19v, 42r, and 63v, and in the *Hortus deliciarum* on fol. 123r; the Devil with a tail and no wings, seen in *Chicago 2400* on fol. 62r and in the *Hortus deliciarum* on fol. 252r; and the basket-like shape of the sheet of unclean beasts in Peter's Vision, discussed below.

Peter and John before the high Priests (fig. 5) and the Destruction of Ananias (fig. 6). The scene at the Beautiful Gate is included in most Petrine cycles, hagiographic or biblical, and so is not of great value in discriminating between the two. The composition here is unusual in its symmetrical arrangement of the two saints, and Herbert Kessler has suggested that it represents a conflation with the subsequent scene, of the saints entering the Temple.[31] If so, it would testify once again to the density with which such episodes were originally illustrated. Even here, however, there is no clear proof that the conflation arose from an *Acts* cycle, since the same composition appears in the Petrine cycle of the Gumpert Bible (fol. 363v).[32] When, on the other hand, one turns to the remaining two scenes of the triplet, one falls into such easy tandem with the cycle at Dečani that one accepts this sequence at once as an established part of the Byzantine *Acts* cycle. This conclusion is only confirmed by the long-standing pedigree of the Ananias composition, running back to *Paris gr. 923* (fig. 14).

From the third triplet only the scene of Stephen's Vision survives (fig. 7). This composition, too, has a long pedigree running back to *Paris 923* (fig. 15). Its use here in lieu of the more complicated scene of Stephen's Stoning is quite singular. The miniaturists of the Chicago manuscript and its siblings had a penchant for replacing large and complicated scenes with simpler and less familiar prefatory ones. In the Gospel cycle of the Chicago manuscript itself, one finds the Supper at Bethany (fol. 51v) in place of the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Way to the Transfiguration (fol. 46v) replacing the Transfiguration. The miniaturist in the *Acts* has clearly done the same thing, and replaced the Stoning of St. Stephen with the simpler, prefatory scene of his vision. Since he has not used a random composition but a long-standing image, he must have been relying on the authority of some model, and this model must itself have been densely illustrated, depicting prefatory incidents as well as major ones. The image follows the text verbatim. The moment illustrated is the one just before Stephen kneels, when he invokes his dual vision of God and Christ. In accord with his separate statements about the two, the painter has shown two arcs. The scene is thus an excellent example of the Byzantine *Acts* cycle's close adherence to the text. Moreover, it is vital in refuting the view that the Chicago miniatures are a compilation from *Vitae* of SS. Peter and Paul. The Stoning of St. Stephen is as much a part of Paul's as of Stephen's life. The Vision of Stephen, however, eliminates Paul. Had the miniaturist been drawing on a *Vita* of St. Paul, it is unlikely that this moment would have been illustrated; had he been building up a *Vita* of SS. Peter and Paul by means of his *Acts* images, it is unlikely that he would have chosen this particular moment. Thus this miniature assumes great importance in de-

31. Kessler, "*Paris gr. 102*," p. 212.
32. For the Gumbert Bible, see above n. 11. Cf. Glass, p. 124.

monstrating that the Chicago cycle and its model were cycles of the *Acts*, and that this Byzantine *Acts* cycle was strictly canonical and in parts, at least, very densely illustrated.

The Vision of St. Stephen is followed by a hiatus where two folios, containing *Acts* vii 39b through ix 3, are missing. There was room for several miniatures here. The last one was surely the Conversion of St. Paul, the opening scene of the fourth triplet. Willoughby suggested that this might have been a full-page miniature, forming a pendant to the Liberation of St. Peter on folio 119v (fig. 12).[33] In this case, there would have been room for only one more scene. In no other manuscript of *Chicago 2400*'s extensive family is such a parallel of format carried out, however. It is much more likely that the Conversion of St. Paul was not a full-page miniature.[34] This would leave room for two further miniatures. Willoughby proposed the Fall of Simon Magus, and perhaps Philip and the Eunuch. Philip and the Eunuch had such a strong tradition in Byzantine art that it must have occupied one if not in fact both of the missing places.[35] Dečani included three episodes from the story of Philip, and Vercelli no less than four; thus the Chicago cycle can easily have included two.

The Fall of Simon Magus is more difficult. Almost every representation of Simon, Western or Byzantine, refers to the apocryphal version of the story. This is true of Simon trodden on in the *Chludov Psalter* (fol. 51v); of Simon tumbling with his wealth strewn before him in *Vatican gr. 1927* (fol. 93r);[36] of Simon witnessing against Peter and Paul in Balkham Kilise;[37] of demons dragging Simon down in the presence of Nero and Peter in the *Smyrna Physiologus* (fol. 11v);[38] of Peter and Paul confronting Simon and Nero and Simon falling from the air in the Sicilian mosaics;[39] and the description of Simon's fall in Dionysius of Fourna.[40] Existing evidence speaks strongly

33. Goodspeed et al., *New Testament*, III, 322-23.

34. The Conversion of St. Paul can have taken one of three forms. Paul may have been shown both standing and fallen as in Dečani, the *Cosmas Indicopleustes* manuscripts, and *Phillips 7681*; bending from the waist as in the *Codex Ebnerianus*, fol. 312v, and the Cappella Palatina; or prostrate as in *Paris gr. 510* and Monreale. Given the *Chicago* master's penchant for simplification, and the similarity of *Chicago 2400* and Monreale in the following scene, it may be that Paul was shown prostrate as at Monreale. For a discussion of Paul's Conversion, see H. Buchthal, "Some Representations from the Life of St. Paul in Byzantine and Carolingian Art," in *Tortulae*, Römische Quartalschrift, Supplementheft 30 (1966), 43-48.

35. See above, nn. 18 and 19.

36. E. T. Dewald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. III: *Psalms and Odes*, Pt. 1: *Vaticanus Graecus 7523* (Princeton, 1941-), pl. XXIII.

37. M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Paintings in Asia Minor*, 3 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1968), III, figs. 445-48.

38. For the Smyrna Physiologus, see V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Biblioteca di storia dell'arte, 7 (Torino, 1967), p. 188.

39. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily*, figs. 43B and 83.

40. Didron, *Handbuch*, p. 348.

against the use of apocryphal material in an *Acts* cycle. Not one of the surviving Byzantine or Byzantinizing cycles of the *Acts* uses Simon's fall, and there is no compelling reason to believe that the Chicago New Testament was an exception to the rule. There are, however, two canonical versions of the scene, showing Peter rebuking Simon. Both of these occur in *Acts* cycles, one in the Vercelli Rotulus and the other in the *Sacra Parallela* in Paris on folio 146v.[41] If the Chicago manuscript illustrated the story of Simon Magus, it must have been with this scene of Peter's rebuke, and not with Simon's fall. The Chicago manuscript thus may have shown Peter rebuking Simon. It may also have shown two scenes of St. Philip. This latter would agree better with the pattern seen in all of the other *Acts* cycles, of settling on certain events and illustrating them extensively. Had an image of Simon Magus survived, however, it would have offered a concrete instance of a motive most likely distinctive to the illustration of the *Acts* itself, and so of great significance.

The fourth triplet began with Saul's Conversion, and followed it with scenes of Saul led to Damascus (fig. 8) and his Baptism by Ananias (fig. 9). The miniature of the Conversion is missing. In the following scene of Saul led to Damascus, the figure of the güide is of particular interest. He is young, and wearing a short tunic. In the Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Vatican, gr. 699* (fol. 83v), the man guiding Saul is labeled Ananias, and wears the appropriate ankle-length tunic and pallium.[42] He continues to appear in this guise through most of the Middle Byzantine period, and is represented in this way in the Cappella Palatina in Sicily.[43] The biblical text, however, makes it clear that Saul was guided by one of his companions. A companion does guide him in the Carolingian Bibles,[44] but it is only in the second half of the twelfth century with *Chicago 2400* and Monreale[45] that the companion appears in Byzantine art. This may represent a twelfth-century revival of a very early motive—the compositions paralleled in *Paris 923* have raised already the possibility of a revival of early models in the Chicago cycle. Yet the fact that one of the compositions from the *Sacra Parallela* occurs in places as divergent as *Chicago 2400* and Sessa Aurunca makes it more likely that these motives are survivals rather than revivals. And the youthful guide, too, being canonical,

41. The *Hortus deliciarum*, fol. 180v, includes a scene of Simon Magus bringing money to Peter. Only Simon himself survives in the drawing. If in the original he was confronted only by Peter, and not by Peter and Nero, this would be a second type of canonical image. See Herrad von Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum*, p. 55.

42. A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting: Historical and Critical Study* (Geneva, 1953), pl. p. 165. Buchthal, "Representations," pp. 43-48, discusses the introduction of Ananias, and attributes it to the Cosmas cycle, since it departs from the *Acts* text. This implies a pre-Iconoclastic version of the *Acts* cycle. Since the Ananias-like guide appears also in the Cappella Palatina, this motive must have acquired a larger application in the Middle Byzantine period.

43. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily*, fig. 40A.

44. Buchthal, "Representations."

45. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily*, fig. 78B.

may represent nothing more than the continuing tradition of the unmodified *Acts* cycle. The youthful image of Ananias himself in the third miniature of this triplet is virtually unparalleled. He may have been conflated with the Apostle Ananias; it is also possible that the long-standing association of Ananias with Saul's guide led the painter to make Ananias young at the same time that he made the guide young. In any case, the youthful Ananias seems to have been an *ad hoc* invention of the Chicago painter.

The degree to which *ad hoc* invention does play into the Chicago cycle can be seen in the major scene of the fifth triplet. This triplet returns to the life of St. Peter, and shows the Raising of Tabitha (fig. 10), Peter's Vision (fig. 11), and Peter's Liberation from Prison (fig. 12). Peter's Liberation from Prison is the only full-page illustration in the Chicago manuscript. The moment chosen for representation is the one seen in *Paris 102* and strictly canonical. The angel has struck off Peter's chains, but Peter has not yet picked up his cloak and so is barelegged. This slightly undignified *déshabillé* was not carried over into any of the Byzantine monumental cycles at Dečani, Monreale, or the Cappella Palatina, and may exemplify the kind of slight modification away from strict textual accuracy which occurred when the cycle was lifted out of the text and moved into a monumental context. If the moment chosen resembles that in *Paris 102*, the composition here is more nearly akin to that in the Cappella Palatina,[46] and would have been more so had the painter followed the lead of his underdrawing and shown the prison as a building. Instead, he painted it as a cave. This is clearly an *ad hoc* interpolation. First-hand elements like this one no doubt abound in the Chicago cycle. But they do not compromise the basic conformity of the imagery as a whole.

The scene of Peter's Liberation was an exceedingly popular one, and occurred in all of the Byzantine or Byzantinizing cycles with the possible exception of Dečani.[47] The Raising of Tabitha and the Vision of Peter were not included at Dečani. Both were shown in Vercelli, however, and the Raising of Tabitha was included in both of the Sicilian mosaic cycles[48] and the writings of Dionysius of Fourna.[49] The raising of Tabitha as shown in Chicago is unusual for its extreme condensation. This taste for extreme condensation is more a stylistic than an iconographic feature, but in this case it draws the miniature closer to the text, where Peter is reported to have turned all onlookers out of the sick woman's room. The Vision of St. Peter is part of the story of Cornelius. It is known from the Byzantinizing cycles of Sessa Aurun-

46. *Ibid.*, fig. 41B. Kessler, "*Paris gr. 102,*" reproduces the two compositions next to each other in pls. 7 and 8.

47. See above, n. 8.

48. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily*, figs. 42B and 83.

49. Didron, *Handbuch*, p. 348.

ca,[50] the Gumpert Bible (fol. 363 v), the *Hortus Deliciarum,*[51] and the Veronese manuscripts,[52] and is also included in the Byzantine miniatures of the *Sacra Parallela* (fol. 163v). Interesting here is the basket-like shape of the cloth of unclean beasts. This assumes so nearly the same shape in the *Hortus Deliciarum* that a common Byzantine source for both seems assured. In contrast to the youthful guide, the basket-like shape of the sheet of unclean beasts may be a detail characteristic of the twelfth century, and a tenuous index to the periodic modifications which the *Acts* cycle underwent in the course of its Middle Byzantine history.

The sixth and final triplet deals once again with St. Paul. This is the most difficult one of the six. It retains only one miniature, showing Paul healing the Lame Man at Lystra (fig. 13). The other two scenes have vanished, along with the third bifolium of the fourth quire. This carried *Acts* xvi. 39b through xvii. 22, and *Acts* xix. 25b through xx. 7a. The subject matter of these folios—the anti-Pauline unrest in Salonika and Berea in one case and the riots in Ephesus in the other—is not illustrated in any Byzantine or Byzantinizing cycle, hagiographic or biblical. It was for these difficult slots that Willoughby proposed the apocryphal scenes of Paul dispatching Silas and Timothy, and the Ecstatic Meeting of Peter and Paul in Rome. Both of these occur in Monreale, but both are apocryphal and so suspect within the context of an *Acts* cycle as such.

Given the likely existence—as we have shown—of an extensive *Acts* cycle, one cannot exclude the possibility that the anti-Pauline unrest in Salonika or Paul's flight from it was illustrated. It may also be that Silas and Timothy did occupy the missing miniature. They are mentioned in the text; moreover, they were popular figures, occurring often in a non-narrative role in Byzantine historiated initials.[53] The specific image of Paul dispatching Silas and Timothy could only have been an extrapolation from the text, since the two men are dispatched not by Paul but to him at this point. The *Rockefeller*

50. Glass, "Archivolt Sculpture," fig. 6.

51. Herrad von Landsberg, *Hortus deliciarum*, ed. A. Straub and G. Keller, 11 pts. (Strasbourg, 1879-1899), fol. 186v.

52. Eleen, "Acts Illustration," p. 16.

53. *Walters Art Gallery ms. 533* has five images of Paul with Timothy and/or Silas: Paul and Timothy are shown disputing at the beginning of Philippians (239r) and Colossians (247v); Thessalonians I (255v) opens with medallion busts of Timothy, Silvanos, and Paul; Thessalonians II (262v) is illuminated with standing frontal figures of Timothy, Silvanos, and Paul; and there is an image of Paul addressing Timothy at the beginning of the preface to Philemon (287r). Cf. der Nersessian, "Praxapostolos," figs. 8, 9, 10, and 11. Paul dispatching Timothy is seen in *Moscow Historical Museum 2280*, fol. 302r, reproduced in M. V. Alpatov, "Un nuovo monumento di miniatura della scuola costantinopolitana," *Studi bizantini*, 2 (1927), fig. 5. Other images of Paul and Timothy are discussed by K. Weitzmann, "An Early Copto-Arabic Miniature in Leningrad," *Ars Islamica*, 10 (1943), 119-43. Kitzinger, *Mosaics of Monreale*, pp. 40-42, discusses the image at Monreale, which is otherwise unique.

McCormick New Testament is not altogether innocent of such extrapolations: the apocryphal scene of Elizabeth hiding in the mountain occupies the miniature accompanying the Matthean account of the Massacre of the Innocents (fol. 9v) in the manuscript's Gospel cycle. The scene of Elizabeth hiding in the mountain, however, has a ready explanation: the vignette of Elizabeth was a customary element in the complex Byzantine images of the Massacre. The Chicago miniaturist, accustomed to simplifying his models and honing them down to a few figures per frame, found in the Elizabeth vignette a readily extractable unit, and used it without consulting the text. There is no such easy explanation for the use of Paul dispatching Silas and Timothy. It is more likely that if Silas and Timothy did occupy the missing miniature, they appeared in a more canonical context than in the scene at Monreale.

The Ecstatic Meeting, on the other hand, has nothing in its favor. The text in question does not relate to it, and it does not occur–despite its use in other contexts–in any of the *Acts* cycles.[54] The uproar at Ephesus might have occupied the missing miniature, but it is not easy to imagine the complicated Ephesian events appearing among the deliberately and drastically simplified compositions of the Chicago cycle. The Vercelli Roll may offer an alternative. The text of the Chicago New Testament resumes at the beginning of the story of Eutychus. The Chicago miniatures precede the passage which they illustrate, and so it may have been with this episode that the Chicago master ended his cycle.

Seen in retrospect, then, the Chicago cycle gives every evidence of having been conceived as an *Acts* cycle, and based on an *Acts* cycle. It accords completely with the evidence offered by other Byzantine monuments. The cycle which they suggest is extensive, closely bound to the text, wholly canonical, of considerable antiquity, and alive still in the twelfth century, its compositions shifting with broader shifts in Byzantine taste, style, and usage. It is this cycle, and not a composite drawn from illustrated saints' lives, that governed the imagery in the Chicago New Testament.

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54. The Ecstatic Meeting is used in both of the Sicilian cycles, cf. Demus, *Mosaics of Sicily*, figs. 43A and 83. It is seen also in *Athens National Library 7*, fol. 3r, reproduced in P. Buberl, *Die Miniaturenhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen* (Wien, 1917), pl. XVII, 39.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 106r. Peter and the Disciples. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

2. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 106v. Election of Matthias. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

3. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 107r. Pentecost. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

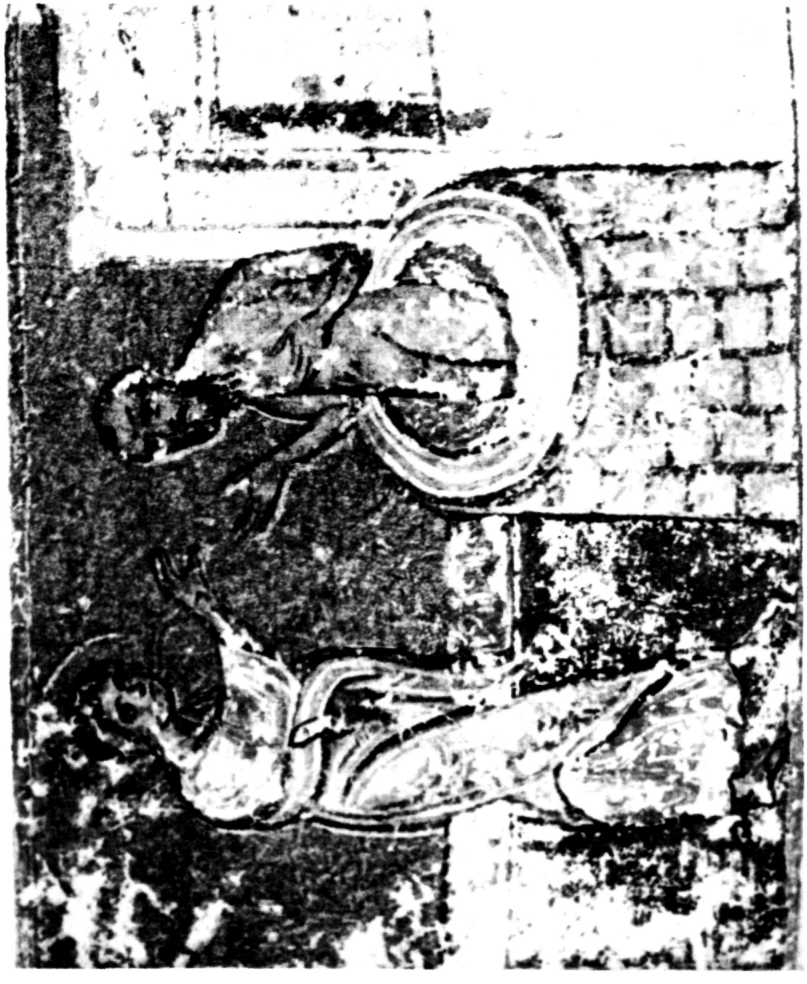
4. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 108v. Healing at the Beautiful Gate. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

5. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 109v. Peter and John Before the High Priests. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

6. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 111r. Death of Ananias. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

7. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 114r. Vision of Stephen. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

8. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 115r. Saul Led to Damascus. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)



9. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 115v. Paul Baptized by Ananias. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

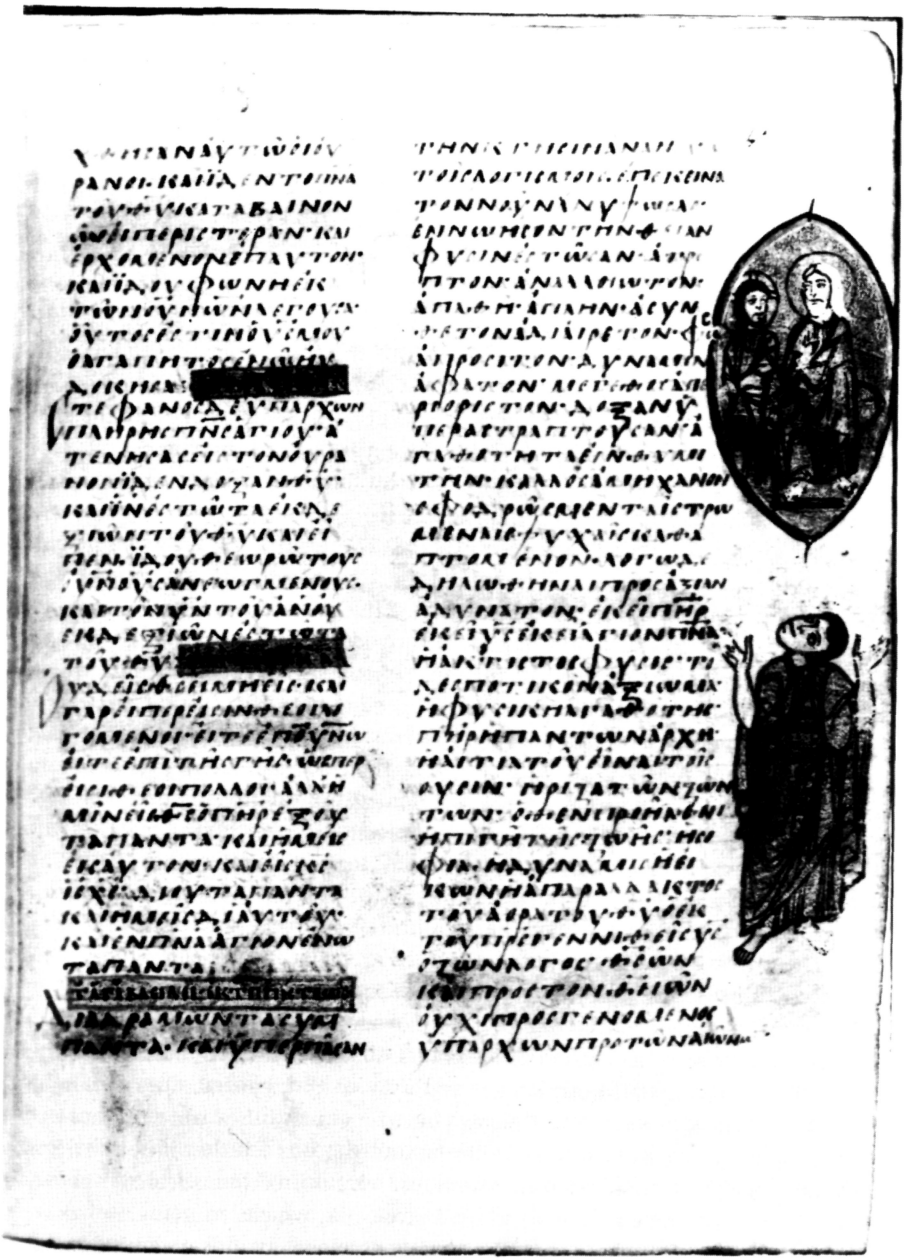
10. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 116v. Peter Raising Tabitha. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

11. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 117r. Peter's Vision of the Unclean Beasts. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

12. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 119v. Peter Liberated from Prison. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

13. Chicago, University of Chicago Library. Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, folio 122v. Paul Healing the Lame Man at Lystra. (Photo: Courtesy University of Chicago.)

14. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 923, folio 314v. Death of Sapphira (Photo: Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale.)



15. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 923, folio 40r. Vision of Stephen. (Photo: Courtesy Bibliothèque Nationale.)

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Church and State in the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia, 1198-1375

Cilician Armenia had its origins in the eleventh century as a result of the Seljuk Turkish invasion of eastern Anatolia, the Armenian national homeland. Too few in numbers to mount a successful resistance and unwilling to live under foreign domination, perhaps a fourth of the total Armenian population sought security within the borders of the Byzantine Empire, settling in the underpopulated province of Cilicia. Here the Armenian princes established themselves in fortresses perched on mountain tops surveying the river valleys where some of the exiles farmed the land while others took to commerce in the towns bordering the Mediterranean.

The principalities were set up under the sovereignty of the Byzantine emperor, but the independent spirit of most of the barons soon led them to ignore their obligations of tribute and service to Constantinople and to manage their territories in Cilicia as once they enjoyed in their homeland. They had the support of the vast majority of the Armenian people, for a cultural and religious division which extended back six hundred years drove a wedge between themselves and the Greeks. The existence of an Armenian national church, which resisted the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople and which fostered the native language and denied the validity of the Council of Chalcedon, held by the Greeks as the cornerstone of orthodoxy, was at the heart of the matter. Constantinople's policy sought to limit the political and religious independence of Cilician Armenia for over a hundred years, but this could be achieved only when the Byzantine army was garrisoned in Cilicia.

The arrival of the Latin Crusaders on the scene late in the eleventh century proved to be a boon to the Armenians. These two groups held many things in common: a shared hatred for both Turks and Greeks, as well as similar societies which were structured upon feudal obligations. Their more perceptive leaders realized that the Armenians and Franks were natural allies. Intermarriage between Crusaders and Cilicians became common, so were treaties and joint military adventures; thus, quite naturally it was felt that if political and familial relations could be so harmonious, why not ecclesiastical? Armenian and Latin churchmen soon developed close ties, which led many to believe that nothing was to be lost and everything gained by full communion between the churches. In essence, such a union required the Armenian hierarchy to recognize the decisions of Chalcedon and papal authority, and to revise those customs felt to be objectionable by the Westerners; on the other hand, the Latins were not required to make any concessions. It was hardly an ar-

rangement that would suit everyone, but a party within the Armenian hierarchy, led by Bishop Nerses of Lampron, was more than anxious to effect an accomodation with the West.

At the very end of the twelfth century a prince of the Rubenid family named Leo was, at last, able to command the loyalty of sufficient barons so as to seek to throw off Cilician Armenia's nominal allegiance to Constantinople. Leo's plan was to demonstrate his independence by seeking recognition from the powers of Western Europe, the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. He was also aware of Cilician Armenia's need for outside assistance, since his state was quite small and was surrounded on all sides by hostile Muslim principalities.

Leo's first approach to the West was made in 1189 when Frederick Barbarossa ruled the empire and Clement III sat on the papal throne. The organization of the Third Crusade fitted exactly into Leo's plans, for the emperor would need aid on his journey to Jerusalem and the pope would find an opportunity to extend Roman influence in the East, as well as assisting in the preservation of the Crusader's presence in the Orient. Therefore, when Frederick Barbarossa approached Cilicia in 1190 on the Third Crusade, he carried in his baggage a crown for Leo, but just on the threshold of his entry into the principality, the emperor drowned and plans for the coronation were suspended. Then, six years later, after further consolidating his position in Cilician Armenia, Leo made new overtures to the West, sending ambassadors both to the Emperor Henry VI and to Pope Celestine III in Rome. Leo promised to be a loyal vassal of Henry and told the pope he was anxious to unite the nation and its church even closer to Rome than had his predecessors.

Celestine and Henry were both in agreement; hence, the crown was sent. From the point of view of Rome a revitalized Armenia, already in evidence, might well become the base for a Christian restoration. Leo had demonstrated his ability to control Cilicia; now his position was enhanced since he would be the vassal of the German emperor and the Cilician Armenian church would recognize the papacy.

The king's decision to make these Western alliances was not welcomed by all his countrymen. Many Armenian barons resented the number of foreigners enlisted in the royal service while Armenian churchmen were uncomfortable with their total submission to the pope of Rome. Before Leo could be crowned, the cardinal-legate sent to perform the service had demanded twelve Armenian bishops take an oath that their faith conformed exactly to that of the church of Rome. While some bishops, like Nerses of Lampron, welcomed the opportunity to profess allegiance to the West, this enthusiasm was not shared by others who felt that the national ecclesiastical tradition was in jeopardy from too close an attachment to the West. They feared the reaction of their fellow Armenians in Caucasia, the old homeland, where tendencies to-

ward unity with Latins or Greeks was regarded as national apostacy.[1]

Whatever misgivings there may have been, Leo made preparations for his coronation in the city of Tarsus, birthplace of St. Paul, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1198. Here, on that date, hundreds of dignitaries gathered in the Church of the Holy Wisdom, to inaugurate a new nation and its sovereign. Present were hundreds of knights and barons, Latin and Armenian, and representatives of the crusading orders, the hospitallers of St. John, the Templars, and the Teutonic Knights. The patriarch of the Syrian Jacobite Church, the metropolitan of the Orthodox Greeks, and the imperial chancellor, Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim were also in attendance. Using an Armenian translation of the Latin ritual for coronations, the chief bishop of the Armenian church, Catholicos Gregory VI Apirat anointed the king. Then the crown, the gift of Henry VI, was placed on Leo's head by the delegate of the pope, Cardinal Conrad of Wittelsbach, Archbishop of Mainz. It was a splendid occasion; all Cilicia rejoiced that after a century and a half, when no one bore a royal title, the Armenians once again had a king.[2]

Byzantine influence in Cilicia was obviously the loser in what transpired at Tarsus. The Emperor Alexius III Angelos was chagrined at Leo's acceptance of the Western crown and belatedly sent one himself from Constantinople. Moreover the Patriarch of Constantinople, George II, was obviously displeased at the growing Latin influence in a church which had sprung from Byzantine Caesarea. But another point of view, demonstrated by the Greek historian Nicetas Choniates, considered it only natural that since Latins and Armenians shared the same errors: they both adored sacred images and used unleavened bread at the Eucharist, they would cooperate in other ways.[3]

A year after his coronation both Leo and Catholicos Gregory wrote to Innocent III to tell of events in Armenia. In his message the king reported how all his nation rejoiced at having reached "unity with the holy Roman

1. Kirakos of Ganja, *History,* in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens* [hereafter *RhC: Da.*], 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1869-1906), I, 423, contends that Leo was not sincere in his attachment to Rome and encouraged his bishops to think of their oath purely as a political gesture. See Hovhan Hagopian, "Relations of the Armenians and Franks during the reign of Leon II," *Armenian Review,* 20 (1969), 36-37.

2. Kirakos of Ganja, I, 422-23; Hetoum, *Chronological Table, anno 646, ibid,.* I, 479; Samuel of Ani, *Chronography, ibid,.* I, 458; Sempad, *The Chronicle of the Kingdom of Little Armenia, anno 646, ibid.,* I, 634-46. Sempad places the coronation in 1199, but the other chroniclers are in agreement that the event happened in the previous year. The best study of Leo's coronation is by G. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique, premier roi de Sissouan ou d'Arméno-Cilicie,* trans. G. Bayan (Venezia: imprimerie Mekhithariste, 1888), pp. 169-80. See also S. Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311,* vol. II of *A History of the Crusades,* ed. K. M. Setton, 2nd ed. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969-), pp. 648-49.

3. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia,* ed. I. Bekker, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: E. Weber, 1835), p. 257. Kirakos, I, 424, states that the crown from Constantinople arrived after the Latin coronation; Sempad, I, 633, has it arrive a year before.

church."[4] The letter of the catholicos told the pope, "All the archbishops, bishops and priests of the church of our land, and by the grace of God there are many of them, are confirmed in office by your command. We beg you to pray to the Lord for us who are in the very mouth of the Dragon, surrounded by enemies of the Cross who are naturally our enemies."[5] The pope was requested to send aid to Cilicia as quickly as possible. Thus began a correspondence between Rome and Sis, the Armenian capital, which extended over the next fifteen years.[6]

Innocent responded to the catholicos and the Cilician monarch, who had sent an ambassador to Rome, in letters congratulating the Armenians because of their commitment to the Catholic faith and expressing his gratitude at the reception Cardinal Conrad received in Cilicia. As a special favor the pope sent Leo the banner of St. Peter to be carried before the Armenian army when it fought the Muslims.[7]

Unfortunately, for the Christians of the Near east, unity among their political leaders proved an impossible goal. King Leo had a long-standing desire to incorporate the principality of Antioch into his kingdom or at least to dominate its policies by appointing its ruler. Several times attempts were made to accomplish this end, but were thwarted by the Latin citizens and barons who wanted no part of Leo's plans. Two claimants existed for the succession of Bohemond III, Prince of Antioch, in 1198. One was the second son of the prince, Bohemond, Count of Tripoli, the other was Leo's nephew, Raymond-Ruben, who because of a treaty pressed upon Antioch earlier, made him the legal heir. However, Bohemond of Tripoli joined his father in the principality in 1199 and ignored the claims of Raymond-Ruben. For three months Leo besieged Antioch to dislodge him, but in vain. The Armenian king then sent an ambassador to Rome to appeal to the pope. Innocent agreed to consider the case but told Leo that first he must hear the other side of the controver-

4. Leo to Innocent III, Tarsus, 23 May 1199, in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Scriptores latini* [hereafter *PL*], ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris: J. P. Migne, 1844-64), CCXIV, cols. 778-79.

5. Gregory to Innocent III, *ibid.*, CCXIV, cols. 775-76; C. Baronio and O. Rinaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198* [hereafter *Annales.*], 15 vols. (Lucca: typis L. Venturini, 1747-56), I, no. 65.

6. Forty copies of letters from King Leo II to Rome are preserved in the Vatican Library. See Alishan, *Léon,* p. 188. For Pope Innocent III's plans for the crusade, see H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III und die Kreuzzüge,* Forschungen zur Kirchen und Dogmengeschichte, Bd. 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1969), pp. 96 ff.; and M. Maccarrone, *Studi su Innocenzo III,* Italia sacra 17 (Padova: Antenore, 1972), pp. 86-99.

7. Innocent III to Catholicos Gregory and to King Leo, Lateran, 21 and 22 Nov. 1199, in *PL,* CCXIV, cols. 776-80; *Annales, anno 1199,* nos. 67-68. Innocent praised Leo's devotion to the papacy, noting Rome was the model for all other churches and the popes enjoyed the "fulness of authority," *plenitudo potestatis.*

sy; in the meanwhile let him fight Muslims, not fellow Christians.[8] In 1201 Bohemond III died bringing the crisis to a head. The Latin patriarch, the Templars, and most of the foreign merchants threw their support to Bohemond IV; on the other hand Raymond-Ruben could count on King Leo, the Hospitallers of St. John and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Innocent now acted swiftly to head off the threatened conflict. He appointed two of his aides to go to the East with full authority, Cardinal Peter of St. Marcellus and Cardinal Sofred of St. Praxedis, to arbitrate the quarrel over the Antiochene succession and to settle an equally thorny question, the possession of the fortress of Gaston (Baghras) situated on the major road between Cilicia and Antioch, which was disputed between Leo and the Templars.[9]

Meanwhile in the continuing conflict between Antioch and Cilician Armenia still another source of difficulty appeared when Peter, Latin patriarch of Antioch, announced that the Armenian church fell under his jurisdiction. Catholicos Gregory and King Leo were quick to denounce such claims to Innocent III. The pope agreed, the Armenian church was autonomous, "besides the Roman pontiff no Latin may promulgate a sentence of excommunication or interdict on you, your kingdom, or the people of your kingdom, whether they be Latin or any other rite."[10] In a note of encouragement to the catholicos, he promised the discouraged prelate that a Crusade was forming and help would be forthcoming. The catholicos complained that Muslim raids had become so frequent that, "In the morning we say, 'When will the evening come?' and in the evening, 'When will the morning come?' because we are so weighed down with sadness and anxiety, and there is nothing to make us happy."[11]

The Roman delegation arrived in Antioch in November, 1203, and secured a truce between the parties. Then the cardinals journeyed to Sis, Leo's capital, to meet with the Armenian king and to attend the installation of the new catholicos. In March, 1203, Gregory VI (1195-1203) had died, the last of the

8. Raymond-Ruben had been baptized by Cardinal Conrad of Mainz when he came to Cilicia for Leo's coronation. Leo tried very hard to get Pope Innocent's support for his nephew. Leo to Innocent III, n.p., 15 Dec. 1199; Innocent III to Leo, Lateran, 23 Dec. 1199, in *PL*, CCXIV, cols. 810-12 and 813-14.

9. Innocent favored the Templars' claim to Gaston. Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 15-31 Dec. 1199, in *Regesta pontificum romanorum 1198-1304*, ed. A. Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin: prostat in aedibus Rudolphi de Decker, 1874-75), I, 88. See also C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et le principauté franque d'Antioche*, Institut français de Damas. Bibliothèque orientale, t. 1 (Paris: P. Geuther, 1940), pp. 590-95; and D. Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders* (London: Eyre Methuen, Ltd., 1972), pp. 52-53.

10. Leo to Innocent III, Sis, 1 Oct. 1201, in *Regesta*, I, 1003-06; Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 1 June 1202, in *PL*, CCXIV, col. 1007.

11. Catholicos Gregory to Innocent III, n.p., n.d., and Innocent III to Catholicos Gregory, Lateran, 1 June 1202, in *PL*, CCXIV, cols. 1007-10 and 1010-12; *Annales, anno 1202*, nos. 41 and 45.

Pahlavouni family to hold the catholicate. Since 1065 an ecclesiastical dynasty existed within the church which saw the catholicate regularly passed from uncle to nephew. Because there were no eligible Pahlavouni candidates, Leo promoted his chancellor, Archbishop John of Sis, to the office. The archbishop had served the king well on several foreign missions and was devoted to Leo's pro-Western policy. His family, moreover, was related to the Hetoumids, after the Rubenids, the most important family of Cilician princes. On the day of his investiture Catholicos John (1203-21) placed his hands in those of Cardinal Peter, made a solemn profession of the Catholic faith, pledged loyalty to the Roman pontiff, and received the papal pallium.

The Latin cardinals also bestowed mitres and pastoral staffs upon fourteen other prelates of the Cilician church. These included the five archbishops of Sis, Tarsus, Lampron, Anazarba, and Mamistra as well as the important bishops of Adana, Ayas, Seleucia, and Partzapert.[12] John promised to send a legate or to go to Rome himself every five years. In return he asked that the pope would summon no council in the East without asking the Armenian catholicos or his delegate to attend. Then the news arrived concerning the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade; the two cardinal legates left for Constantinople, their mission of reconciliation left unfinished. Innocent ordered them to return. More difficulties were forthcoming because Cardinal Peter now became an open partisan of the Templars and sought Innocent III's support against King Leo. At last, contrary to the pledge that no Latin prelate other than the pope himself might intervene in ecclesiastical affairs in Armenia, Peter levied an excommunication on Leo and an interdict upon his lands.[13]

The quarrel over the succession at Antioch and the possession of Gaston continued through the following years to the detriment of the Armenians and Latins. Innocent III was considerably friendlier to Leo's Antiochene claims for his nephew Raymond-Ruben than to Bohemond IV, but on the other hand, he felt that Gaston should be restored to the Templars. In Antioch Bohemond was so disgusted at papal policy that he summoned the Greek patriarch Symeon II to return in 1206 and imprisoned the Latin patriarch Peter who subsequently died in captivity. Finally Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, was appointed by Innocent to settle the matter. Albert required that as a preliminary to negotiations Gaston must be handed over to the Templars. Leo refused; he went further, allied himself with the Nicene Emperor, Theodore I

12. Sempad, I, 640-41; see also G. Alishan, *Sissouan ou L'Arméno-Cilicie, description géographique et historique* (Venezie: S. Lazare, 1889), p. 67.

13. Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 16 Jan. 1204; Abbots of Lucedio, Mt. Tabor, etc., to Innocent, 6 March 1205; Innocent to Leo, Lateran, 6 March 1205, in *PL*, CCXV, cols. 504, 555-57; 557-59; *Annales, anno 1205*, nos. 30, 31 and 32. The Catholicos John complained: "We sought to drink sweet and wholesome milk from the breasts of our mother the Roman Church, but we have only been given gall and vinegar," *Annales*, no. 39.

Lascaris, and confiscated the estates of the Latin church in Cilicia. As a result, at a council in 1207 presided over by Albert of Jerusalem, the Armenian king was declared excommunicated until he vacated Gaston. A letter was forwarded to Sis but Leo rejected its provisions and the ecclesiastical penalty. Instead he launched a major assault against Antioch; for three days he occupied the lower town, then a counterattack of the Templars drove the Armenians out.[14]

Despite his usual support for the Armenian king, Innocent III finally confirmed his legate's decision on 17 May 1211 and declared that the king must choose between holding Gaston or communion with Rome. The excommunication lasted for approximately two years. Then the situation changed after the death of Albert and the appointment of a new patriarch of Jerusalem. Leo was forgiven and the ban was lifted 25 March 1213 in return for his promise to further a new crusade. To demonstrate his enthusiasm for the project, Leo had his daughter Stephanie marry John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem. Moreover, in 1216 his army seized Antioch and Raymond-Ruben was at last crowned. For the moment Leo and the Armenian cause was in the ascendancy throughout the Christian East.[15]

Because of his well known pro-Latin policy Catholicos John was rejected in Caucasian Armenia where rival catholicoi were to be found in both Aghtamar and Ani. Then King Leo himself had a falling out with John over the arrest and deposition of his brother-in-law, so the catholicos returned to the fortress of Hromgla, traditional seat of his predecessors since 1151, where he tried to enlist the support of the Seljuq Sultan Kaikosru I of Iconium. At last, Leo saw fit to summon the bishops to Sis to depose John. Elected in his place was Archbishop David II of Mamistra and abbot of Arkagaghni (1207-10) who made his residence in Sis while John continued to live at Hromgla.[16]

Happily for the future of the Church, when David died in 1210 the abbot of Trazarg, Hetoum-Elias, hurried to reconcile Leo and John before the schism would be perpetuated. He was successful; once again the Cilicians recognized John as their sole religious leader and he returned to live in Sis. Generally good relations were kept with Rome except for the two years when the king was excommunicated. In 1213, however, John declined an invitation by Innocent III to come to Lyons to discuss a fifth crusade.

14. *Les gestes des Chiprois,* i.60, in *RhC: Da,* II, 663. See H. F. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1910), pp. 185 ff.

15. *Annales, anno 1211,* no. 25; Innocent III to Patriarch of Jerusalem, Lateran, 16 May 1211, in *PL,* CCXVI, cols. 431-32. See also Alishan, *Léon,* pp. 236-61; Bar Hebraeus, *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus; Being the First Part of His Political History of the World,* trans. E. A. W. Budge, 2 vols. (London: Oxford Univ. Press, H. Milford, 1932), I, 370; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Univ. Press, 1955-57), III, 138-39; and Cahen, pp. 615-19.

16. Kirakos, I, 427; and Samuel of Ani, I, 459.

Leo's reign in Armenia brought that country fame and wealth which it had never before known. The success he enjoyed was due in large measure to his friendship with the Catholic church and its representatives in the Orient, with the exception of the Templars and the princes of Antioch. Around Leo's court, a feudal society was created on Western models to such an extent that Latin and French were adopted as official languages along with Armenian. The titles of the nobility were modeled on the West, while for his legal code, Leo adopted the Assizes of Antioch.[17]

The Latinization of Cilician Armenia was furthered by other aspects of the royal policy. Commercial treaties were drawn up with the Genoese and Venetians in 1200 and 1201 giving them rights "to come and go, freely buy and sell, with security and without vexation . . . in all my land which I now possess, and which, with the help of God I may acquire, and in all the land of my barons. . . ."[18] The important ports of the kingdom were at Gorigos and Ayas (Lajazzo). Here Latin communities were formed to engage in the very lucrative trade with the East in spices, silks, and slaves. The Venetians had a *bailo* in Ayas, the Genoese and Pisans appointed consuls. Moreover the Genoese had their own churches at the port and at Sis, Tarsus, and Mamistra. The Venetians had two churches, one at Ayas and another at Mamistra.[19]

Leo engaged in numerous wars against the Seljuqs and the other Muslim powers surrounding Cilicia; he also fought and defeated Hetoum of Lampron, his only serious Armenian rival. In order to fortify his lands with strong garrisons, Leo made numerous grants to each of the crusading orders. But with the Templars there was almost always friction.[20] On the other hand, his friendship with the Teutonic Knights remained firm. At Epiphany in 1212 the Grand Master Hermann Salza was his honored guest. The Knights held Amoudain, south of Anazarba, and Koumbetvor; the most important castle of the Hospitallers was the fortress of Seleucia.

Besides the crusading orders the Latin church had a number of clergy in Cilicia to serve the Westerners living there. The Antiochene patriarch appointed Latin archbishops for Mamistra, Anazarba, Tarsus, Lampron, Sis and Seleucia along with an even larger number of bishops. On the other hand the interaction between Latins and Armenians resulted in a significant migration of Cilicians to Italy in the course of the thirteenth century. In Rome two

17. C. Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. J. B. Bury *et al.*, 8 vols. in 9 pts. (Cambridge: The Univ. Press, 1924-67), IV, pt. 2, 633-34.

18. E. Dulaurier, *Etude sur l'organisation, religieuse et administrative du Royaume de la Petite-Arménie à l'epoque des Croisades* (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1862), p. 104. The text is from the treaty with Genoa.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-25.

20. Alishan, *Sissouan*, pp. 225-27; J. J. M. de Morgan, *The History of the Armenian People, from the Remotest Times to the Present Day*, trans. E. F. Barry (Boston: Hairenik Press, 1918), p. 227, counts sixty-two fortresses in Cilicia in Leo's time.

churches were held by Armenian emigrants: St. Mary's and St. Gregory's. Other colonies with their own clergy were in Florence, Rimini, Ancona, Sienna and several other towns.[21]

Leo had no male heir to succeed him on the Armenian throne since there had been a falling-out between the king and his nephew Raymond-Ruben of sufficient gravity that Leo insisted he be eliminated as his heir. Leo's elder daughter was Stephanie, married to John of Brienne, King of Jerusalem, while from his marriage with Sybil of Antioch Leo had a younger daughter named Isabelle. The king once tried, but failed, to arrange a marriage for this daughter with the son of King Andrew of Hungary.[22] On his deathbed Leo secured the promises of his barons they would respect his wishes that Isabelle would succeed to the throne. The king died on 2 May 1219, "a mighty warrior in battle and a strenuous hunter in the chase."[23] His body was buried at Sis, his heart in the Monastery of Trazarg, the residence of Catholicos John.

Leo's plan for a smooth transition to the throne was frustrated when John of Brienne claimed the right of succession for his son, born of the marriage with Stephanie. At the same time Raymond-Ruben, who found himself unsatisfied with Antioch alone, also sought to possess the throne of Armenia to which he felt entitled. Pope Honorius III supported him in Antioch but felt John of Brienne's son had a stronger claim on the throne of Armenia. He appointed a legate, Pelagius Galvano, bishop of Albano, to mediate the quarrel, and ordered John of Brienne to desist from any military action until a decision should be forthcoming.[24] The infant son of John died thus removing one contestant while Raymond-Ruben's attempts were foiled by the Armenian nobles and he was put into prison where he later expired. Isabelle was therefore unopposed and uncontested queen of Armenia. Her first regent was murdered but the second was the powerful Grand Baron of the Realm, Prince Constantine of Lampron. It was according to his wishes that in 1222 the eleven year old queen was betrothed to the eighteen year old Philip of Antioch, fourth son of Bohemond IV.

Philip promised the Armenian barons at the time of his coronation that he would respect all the national traditions, both secular and religious. Then he proceeded to do the opposite, showing contempt for the Armenian customs and surrounding himself with Latin counsellors who were as eager as their

21. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 446, note. By 1400, there were twenty-nine churches in Italy.

22. *Regesta*, I, 6001.

23. Bar Hebraeus, I, 375; Kirakos, I, 427.

24. Honorius to Master and Brothers of the Hospital, Ferentini, 25 July 1217, and Honorius to John of Jerusalem, Viterbo, 2 Feb. 1220, Urbem Veterem, 11 Aug. 1220, in *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. P. Pressutti, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 2 sér., *Registres des papes du 13. siècle* [hereafter *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises.*], 2 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1888-95), I, nos. 176, 2320 and 2610.

prince to promote the more familiar Western ways. His personality so grated upon the court at Sis that Grand Baron Constantine, who had been dismissed by Philip, decided to intervene. Philip was arrested, imprisoned in Sis and died of poisoning three years after his accession and marriage. His Latin counsellors, including the Latin archbishops of Tarsus and Mamistra, were sent into exile.[25]

Bohemond IV of Antioch threatened Cilicia during his son's imprisonment, but Philip's death made it useless to pursue the issue. Meanwhile, Isabelle fled to the castle of the Hospitallers at Seleucia. The Knights offered her their protection and refused to put her into the hands of Baron Constantine. According to Bar Hebraeus, the baron then sought the assistance of Ignatius the Jacobite Patriarch and the Armenian Catholicos Constantine to persuade Isabelle to leave the castle "so that an arrangement could be made which would benefit the Christian people." [26]

Isabelle refused, calling the prelates friends of her husband's murders. The Knights were in a dilemma. Not wishing to violate their promise of asylum to the young queen while recognizing that the demands of Baron Constantine could not be safely put off, they solved the problem by selling their fortress to the Armenians. This allowed Constantine to claim the frightened Isabelle. She was taken to Tarsus and there was forcibly married to Baron Constantine's son, Hetoum, on 14 June 1226.[27]

While the young King Hetoum (1226-69) continued his education the real power in the kingdom was in the hands of his father Baron Constantine. It had been through his intervention that Constantine I Partzarpert (1221-67) became the new Armenian catholicos upon the death of John VI in 1221.[28] The ecclesiastical policies of Baron Constantine and the catholicos were in harmony. Both wanted the ties to the Roman papacy and the empire to be kept intact. Sempad the Historian noted "that all showed great sympathy for the pope of Rome and Ala-eddin, sultan of the land of the Romans, and the emperor of the Germans."[29]

During these years Cilician Armenia came under attack from the Seljuqs once more. Baron Constantine sought to hold the frontiers but his efforts were frustrated by a lack of resources. As a result, in 1233 the kingdom of Cilician Armenia had to accept a state of vassalage under the Sultan Kaikubad I.[30] This required that tribute be sent to the Turks and the coins of Cilicia be

25. Kirakos, I, 428-29; Vartan the Great, *Universal History*, in *RhC: Da*, I, 442-43; Bar Hebraeus, I, 380-81; Sempad, I, 647; and Honorius III to suffragan bishops of Jerusalem, Lateran, 17 Dec. 1224, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises*, I, 5222.

26. Bar Hebraeus, I. 389-90.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 390; Sempad, I, 647; and *The Rhymed Chronicle*, in *RhC: Da*, I, 517-19.

28. Hetoum, I, 485.

29. Sempad, I, 648.

30. Kirakos, I, 429-30.

minted with the name of the Sultan on the reverse. At the same time, Bohemond V of Antioch, remembering the Hetoumid treachery toward his brother Philip, sought to cause trouble between the Armenians and the papacy, now held by Gregory IX. The Antiochene patriarch assisted his prince by reviving the claim that all Cilicia rightfully belonged under his jurisdiction.

In an effort to ally the Antiochene attack on the Hetoumid position, delegates were dispatched to Rome by Baron Constantine in 1234. Their mission obtained positive results for Pope Gregory IX affirmed the policy of his predecessor, Innocent III, that the Armenian church need only answer to Rome. Gregory also promised to send warnings to Bohemond and Henry of Cyprus instructing them not to interfere in Cilicia and to accept the legitimacy of Hetoum's accession. However, the issue of Antiochene jurisdiction over Armenia was again raised in 1237. This time Pope Gregory IX waivered; there could not be two heads in the same patriarchate. On 26 June 1238 he ruled that Antioch had jurisdictional rights in Armenia.[31] Subsequently protests by Hetoum and Isabelle, on the strength of a forged document claiming that in the fourth century Pope Sylvester had given Gregory the Illuminator full autonomy in Armenia, were sufficient to change the pope's mind. By March, 1239, the issue was settled in favor of Armenian independence, and a pallium and ring were dispatched to Catholicos Constantine I.[32]

The next major event in Cilician Armenia's history was the arrival of the Mongols in western Asia. The appearance of these people offered both a threat and an opportunity. King Hetoum could do nothing but rejoice when he saw his old enemies the Seljuqs go down to defeat at Kosadagh in June, 1243. He sent a messenger with congratulations to the Mongols, transferred his allegiance from the Turks, and agreed to pay tribute to the khans.[33] Later the defeated sultan's mother and sister who had fled to Armenia were handed over to the Mongols.[34] Four years later Hetoum, as a result of renewed Seljuq activity against Armenia, sent his brother, the Constable Sempad, to visit the Mongol capital at Karakorum and lay before the Great Khan Goyuk the Armenian position. Sempad was received with honors, he was given Mongol assurances of protection and returned in 1250 with a treaty of alliance.[35]

31. Gregory to Archibishops of Apamia and Mamistra; Gregory IX to all abbots, etc., of Armenians and Greeks, Lateran, 26 June 1238, in *Les registres de Gregoire IX,* ed. L. Auvray, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* [hereafter Auvray.], 3 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1890-1908), I, nos. 4466 and 4467. The pope did reserve the right of excommunication to himself, Gregory IX to Patriarch of Antioch, *ibid.*, no. 4468; and *Annales, anno 1238,* no. 34.

32. Gregory IX to Hetoum and Isabella, Lateran, 1 March, 8 March, and 10 March 1239, in Auvray, I, nos. 4732, 4739, and 4740; and Potthast, I, nos. 10710 and 10714.

33. Grigor of Akanc, *History of the Nation of Archers,* ed. R. B. Blake and R. N. Frye (Cambridge, Mass.: Published for Harvard Wenching Institute by Harvard Univ. Press, 1954), pp. 295-97 (iii.73-76); and Samuel of Ani, I, 461.

34. Bar Hebraeus, I, 407.

35. Grigor of Akanc, p. 313 (viii.9); Sempad, I, 651.

These years also saw Hetoum renewing contacts with the Western church. Pope Innocent IV had sent a Franciscan friar named Lawrence of Orte to Sis in 1246 to inquire about the state of the church. Innocent wanted to have the Armenians more closely tied to the Latin church, especially to its canon law, so that disputes between the bishops might be more easily settled. The pope also looked for confirmation of Armenian orthodoxy in their beliefs on the Trinity and in their use of Extreme Unction. A second legate was sent to the Orient in 1248. Finally at the urging of the Latins an Armenian council was summoned to meet at Sis in 1251. The council subscribed to the double procession of the Holy Spirit and promised to accelerate the conferring of Extreme Unction. The pope was addressed as "father of fathers." The synodal acts were rejected, however, by the Caucasian Armenians as a betrayal of the nation's religious heritage. This was in conformity with the traditions of the national church which believed in the conservation of its distinctive heritage.

An interesting parallel could be drawn here with the Maronites of Lebanon. Like the Armenians, they were an isolated group both religiously and politically until the arrival of the Crusaders. Then opportunities to break out of their constraints appeared and the same Cardinal Peter who received the allegiance of King Leo II accepted the profession of faith from the Patriarch Jeremias al-'Amshiti at Tripoli in 1204. Both Armenians and Maronites had been "outsiders." The presence of the Franks naturally appeared to be providential, a salvation from both Muslims and Orthodox Christians. So long as the Crusaders remained in the Orient, both groups moved from minority to majority status. But just as Caucasian Armenians resisted the changes made by the hierarchy in Cilicia, so too did the remote villagers on Mt. Lebanon.[36]

Since the kingdom appeared to be at peace in 1253, King Hetoum, determined to cement his relations with the Mongols, decided on a personal trip to Karakorum. He arrived after a long and arduous journey at the mongol capital and the court of Mongke Khan in September, 1254. Hetoum was the first Christian ruler ever to appear willingly before Mongke, thus the khan received him with great ceremony. He promised that the Mongols would always protect Cilicia against the Seljuqs and exempted all Armenian churches and monasteries in the Mongol Empire from taxation.

En route home, Hetoum called on Hulagu Khan in Persia and, in an even more important move, he visited Caucasian Armenia, thus becoming the first Cilician ruler to renew contacts with the population of the old homeland. At last he returned to Sis in June, 1256, carrying the gifts of the Mongols and

36. Innocent IV to Lawrence, Lyons, 5 June 1247, in *Les registres d'Innocent IV,* ed. E. Berger, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* 4 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vatican, 1884-1911), I, nos. 3047 and 3965; and *Annales, anno 1247,* nos. 31-38. See also K. Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluke Rule (1099-1516)," *Arabica,* 4 (1957), 287 ff.

more importantly their promise of help against the Muslims.[37]

The relations between Armenia and Antioch improved when Bohemond V died and was succeeded by his son Bohemond VI. The young Bohemond did not have the bitterness of his father toward the Armenians. He chose Sibyl, the daughter of Hetoum, for his bride at the suggestion of St. Louis while the Armenian king was away on his Mongol trip. Henceforward Antioch and Armenia replaced war with cooperation. Hetoum tried in vain to interest the other Latin princes in a Mongol alliance; unfortunately he had success only with his son-in-law.[38]

Hetoum always remained firm in his association iwth the Mongols. On the other hand, after the return from Karakorum he was not as committed to his allegiance with the papacy. Perhaps he realized that the khans were likely to provide more troops than the popes. This was evident when he and his Armenians joined the Mongols in expeditions against the Muslims after Hulagu had taken Baghdad in 1258. Hetoum and Bohemond led their armies with the Christian Mongol commander Kitbuqa in the attack on Damascus in 1260. They captured the city and for the first time in centuries Damascus was ruled by Christians. However, later that same year, weakened by a serious withdrawal of troops due to complications in east Asia, the Mongols confronted the sole remaining Muslim power in the Middle East, the Mamluks of Egypt. The battle took place at Ain Jalut near Nazareth. The Mamluks under their capable Sultan Baybars decisively defeated the Mongols and Hetoum. Henceforth Cilicia was open to the furor of the Egyptians who sought to avenge themselves on the Armenians, the allies of the Mongols.[39]

While Hetoum warred against the Islamic forces, there was increased tension between Rome and the catholicate at Hromgla. Catholicos Constantine had come under the influence of Vardan, a man whose origins were in Caucasian Armenia and who reflected the anti-unionist views of that part of the nation. The recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantine emperor Michael Palaeologus heartened the nationalist elements in the church to believe the Latin presence in the East was on the wane.

Sensing that affairs in the Orient were slipping, Pope Urban IV sent a legate, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, William of Agen, to St. John of Acre in 1261. He was commissioned to oversee conditions in the Christian East which involved meeting with the Armenians.[40] Catholicos Constantine excused him-

37. Bar Hebraeus, I, 418-19; *Rhymed Chronicle,* I, 519; Hayton, *Flor des Estories, RhC: Da,* II, 164-66; and Grigor of Akanc, pp. 325 (x.20-26) and 341-43 (xii.65-70).

38. *Estorie d'eracles,* in *RhC: Doc. Occidental,* II, 439 and 441-42; and J. Joinville, *Life of St. Louis, in Chronicles of the Crusades,* ed. and trans. Margaret R. B. Shaw (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 282-88.

39. de Morgan, p. 235; and Runciman, III, 312-13.

40. Urban IV to William, Orvieto, 23 May 1261, no. 241, in J. Guiraud, *Les registres d'Urbain IV,* in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* [hereafter Guiraud.], 4 vols. (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1901-58).

self from travelling to Acre because of advanced years, and only reluctantly allowed his representative, Mekhitar of Skevra to act as his deputy. When Mekhitar arrived in Acre he was kept waiting at the legate's door for the whole day. He handed over a letter from the catholicos which was read and translated to a silent William. Then the legate announced that the pope had sent some gifts for the catholicos, but Mekhitar refused to take them, so an official of King Hetoum was made the recipient. When William asked Mekhitar to dinner, the Armenian declined, "full of sadness." Discussions between the two went on for the next several days. Mekhitar complained of William, "He spoke a great deal and listened very little." The topics were wide-ranging; Mekhitar explained that the pope acted as though only Peter and not the whole company of the Apostles had received the Holy Spirit to guide the church. He argued further that all of the apostles are "rocks" and all are called upon to feed the flock of Christ. Since Armenia also had its apostles, Bartholomew and Thaddeus, the successor of Peter in Rome must be careful not to exaggerate his powers in Armenia: the catholicos and pope are equal as successors of the apostles. Such ideas were bravely put forth as a true statement of the Armenian position.[41]

Meanwhile in Sis, Hetoum realized it was only a matter of time until Baybars would come in force against Cilicia. Western promises of help were not enough, so once again he turned to his Mongol allies. In 1254 he left for Tabriz and an audience with Hulagu. This time he was not so warmly received since the Mongols had concluded an alliance with the Byzantines, and favored them over the Armenians. In addition Euthemios, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, had been exiled by Hetoum and Bohemond VI, and the bishop was a close friend of Hulagu. Shortly after Hetoum's arrival, Hulagu died, prolonging the negotiations.[42]

While Hetoum sought aid from his reluctant allies, Baybars finally was prepared for his all-out expedition against Cilicia. His army, joined by contingents of Muslim Arabs from Syria, headed north in 1266. Constable Sempad and Hetoum's two sons, Toros and Leo, brought the Armenian army to the Syrian Gates to make their defense, but it was in vain. The Mamluk forces crushed the Armenians. Toros was killed, Leo and Sempad were taken prisoner. Baybars' forces swept into Armenia capturing Adana, Sis, Ayas, Tarsus and Mamistra. The massacre and destruction were frightening. The wealth of Armenia was completely lost and forty thousand captives were taken off to

41. Mechitar, *Relation of the Conference held with the Papal Legate in 1262,* in *RhC: Da,* I, 691-98.

42. Rashid al-Din Tabib, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse,* trans. E. M. Quatremère, Collection orientale, manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque royale (Paris: Imprimérie royale, 1836), pp. 417-23; Vartan Vardapet, *History,* in *RhC: Da,* I, 205-06 and 211; Bar Hebraeus, I, 444-45. On the Mamluks, see E. M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte* (Paris: The Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1845).

Egypt. According to Gregory of Akanc, "They burned the town of Sis, which was the seat of the Armenian kings. They cast wood into the fine and great church which was the center of Sis and they burned it. They demolished the tombs of the kings. They killed many Christians and took many captives from the land and villages."[43]

Hetoum arrived back from Tabriz to find his country desolated; one son dead, the other in captivity. His first thought was to contact Baybars to ransom the captives. After months of discussion the Mamluk Sultan required a large tribute and the transfer of many of the Armenian fortresses in the Amanus Mountains to Egypt. Hetoum agreed and Prince Leo was returned to his father in August, 1268. The Armenian kingdom suffered such a blow from this invasion that it never recovered; henceforth the Cilician kingdom could play no independent role in the politics of the East Mediterranean.[44]

The Catholicos Constantine witnessed the destruction of Cilician Armenia in his last days. He died in 1267, praised by Gregory of Akanc for "his love for the orthodox faith and all ordinances of the church."[45] For a year the catholicate was vacant due to the distracted state of the king. At last a synod was held at Tarsus and James I Klaietsi (1268-87) was chosen. He took up residence at Hromgla.

In the same year James became Catholicos, Baybars' troops captured and destroyed Antioch. Once again the catastrophe was nearly complete; there were few survivors. Shortly thereafter the Templars abandoned Gaston.[46] Armenia was now surrounded by Muslims in a position so exposed that only the Mongol alliance kept it from immediate destruction. The burden of carrying on was too great for the old king so he took his son to the court of Abagha Khan to obtain approval for his resignation in favor of Leo. The Mongols agreed to the succession. Having returned to Cilicia Hetoum abdicated in the spring of 1269 and Catholicos James anointed Leo king in Tarsus. Then Hetoum retired to Bellapais, the monastery of the Premonstratensians on Cyprus, where he became a canon named Macarios. A few months later, in December, he was dead.[47]

King Leo III (1269-89) inherited a kingdom none too powerful, but he realized as long as the Mongol alliance was intact, Armenia had a chance for survival. Moreover, expectations were still alive that the papacy could rouse the West into a Crusade.[48] Leo was quick to respond to the Italian city states

43. Grigor of Akanc, pp. 357-59 (xiv.70-89); Hetoum, I, 461. See also M. Canard, "Le royaume d'Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamelouks jusqu'au traité de 1285," *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, NS, 4 (1967), 216-59.

44. Bar Hebraeus, I, 446; Samuel of Ani, I, 462.

45. Grigor of Akanc, p. 353 (xiv.14-20) and pp. 371-73 (xv.29-44).

46. Tournebize, *Histoire*, pp. 215-17.

47. Grigor of Akanc, p. 379 (xvii.1-14); and *Rhymed Chronicle*, I, 524-25.

48. *Annales, anno 1272*, III, no. 47.

of Venice and Genoa requesting additional trading privileges. Ayas was rebuilt and the Italian merchants prospered once more in Armenia.

The period of quiet was shattered when the Mamluks commenced their attacks on Cilicia again in 1275, while at the same time the Turcomans raided the northern frontier. Baybars was able to devastate the Cilician plain but failed to take Sis. At Tarsus the Church of the Holy Wisdom was burned down; fifteen thousand people were killed, ten thousand more enslaved. Famine followed in the wake of the war. In 1279 a Mamluk army reached Hromgla and besieged the catholicos. The Muslims promised James that he and his staff could go to Jerusalem or to Cilicia in safety if the fortress was handed over. James refused, "I will fight until I die." The Mamluks moved off, failing to take the catholicate but spreading destruction everywhere.[49]

Two years later a Mongol army arrived in Syria and Leo joined them with his forces, but suffered a serious defeat near Homs. Finally Leo sought to remove the Mamluk danger with direct consultation; he went to Egypt and there negotiated a treaty between Armenia and the Mamluks which placed his nation in a state of vassalage to Cairo. In return for its survival, Cilician Armenia agreed to an annual tribute of a million dirhams.[50]

The religious policy of Leo, like those of his predecessors, opposed the Greeks and favored the Latins. According to Gregory of Akanc, Leo had to constantly watch for sedition among the Greek nobility living in Cilicia and their efforts to win over the Armenians to their position: "The depraved and apostate nation of Greeks, false Christians, but real Chalcedonites, had ever intended to destroy our monasteries and to protect those who believed in their heresy while destroying those who did not profess it. It was not only they themselves who were doing this, but they had won over by deceit certain of the vardapets, Armenian priests, and vacillating princes to come over to the same faith, and together to oppress the Armenians."[51]

The Latin religious orders, which had already appeared during the reign of his father, took on new importance during Leo's kingship. The Dominicans had organized a province in the Holy Land when Jourdain had become Master General of the Order following the death of Dominic. King Hetoum requested them to found a convent in Cilicia and at the Order's General Council in 1266 this had been approved, but apparently the plans were never accomplished. Individual Dominicans were on the scene, but no foundation existed.[52] Franciscan friars were also in the East, following in the footsteps of their founder

49. Bar Hebraeus, I, 461.

50. *Rhymed Chronicle,* I, 530; de Morgan, p. 239.

51. Grigor of Akanc, p. 380 (xvii.26).

52. L. Brèhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au moyen âge. Les croisades,* 4th ed. (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1921), p. 214; and R. Loenertz, *La Société des frères pérégrinants: étude sur l'Orient dominicain,* Institutum historicum ff. praedicatorum, Romae ad S. Sabinae. Dissertationes historicae. fasc. VII (Roma: ad S. Sabinae, 1937), pp. 185-87.

who sought out the Islamic world as the major object of his missionary work. In 1280 John of Monte Corvino, later to be the archbishop of Peking, set up the first Franciscan convent in Cilician Armenia.[53]

Leo III died in February, 1289, and was succeeded by his son Hetoum II (1289-1307). At a time when the fortunes of Armenia needed strong and vigorous leadership, Hetoum was mostly concerned about religious affairs. Samuel of Ani notes, "he remained celibate, wearing the costume of a monk for eighteen years."[54] Since he was extremely devoted to the Catholic church, one of his first acts was to send John of Monte Corvino to Rome with his profession of faith for Pope Nicholas IV and to request that more Franciscans be sent to Cilicia. Pope Nicholas encouraged him to stand firm in his loyalty to the Catholic church which he acknowledged as the "mother of all the faithful." The pope also wrote directly to several princes and other members of the royal household.[55]

Catholicos Constantine II (1286-89) who had replaced James I during the reign of Hetoum's father, was made unhappy by the papal correspondence which he felt interfered in matters which were within his jurisdiction. Therefore, Hetoum ousted him, put him in prison at Lampron, and nominated a candidate, Stephen IV of Hromgla (1290-93), who shared Hetoum's pro-Roman sympathies. Hetoum, like other kings of Cilician Armenia believed his survival lay in fidelity to the Catholic alliance and was even willing to jeopardize his personal popularity with his own subjects, if that proved necessary.[56]

Armenia then had cause to benefit from an upheaval within the Franciscan Order. A rigorist group within the Italian Franciscans known as Spirituals, argued that the order was falling away from its original ideals. Their criticism became so bothersome that the leader of the dissidents, Angelo de Clareno, was sentenced to life imprisonment. When the request from Hetoum arrived in Italy asking that more Franciscans be sent to Armenia, Friar Angelo was released and with five other Spiritual companions was sent packing for Sis. Hetoum was delighted to have such energetic Christians in his kingdom and made them his constant companions.[57]

Meanwhile Acre, the last western stronghold in the East, was placed under

53. L. Lemmens, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen,* Missionswissenschaftliche abhandlungen und texte, 12 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1929), p. 32; and J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from Its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 235 ff.

54. Samuel of Ani, I, 463.

55. Nicholas IV to Hetoum, Rieti, 7 July 1289, and to Marie, sister of the queen, Rieti, 14 July 1289, in *Les registres de Nicolas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape,* ed. M. E. Langlois, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Thorin, 1886-93), nos. 2229 and 2230; L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum,* 25 vols. (Roma: typis Rochi Bernabò, 1731-1886), V, 222-23; Lemmens, p. 33.

56. Alishan, *Léon,* p. 369; *idem, Sissouan,* p. 298; Tournebize, *Histoire,* p. 218.

57. Wadding, V, 263; and Moorman, p. 193.

siege by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in April, 1291. The defense of the Latins crumbled and the city was taken. The rest of the fortresses on the Levantine coast were no more; only Cilician Armenia and Cyprus were left. Hetoum's response was to dispatch two Franciscans and an Armenian baron to the West to plead for immediate assistance. Pope Nicholas IV promised to take action: he ordered twenty galleys to be constructed and sent pleas to London and Paris to come to the aid of the hard-pressed Christians of Armenia, but unfortunately the Western princes looked upon the salvation of Armenia as one of their least concerns.[58]

At the urging of the Franciscans, Hetoum continued to concern himself with church affairs. He summoned a synod for Sis early in 1292, where his friend, Bishop Gregory of Anazarba, presided. At the king's suggestion the council determined that Easter should be celebrated according to the calendar of the Latin church. The Armenian date for Easter, which differed from both the Greek and Latin churches, was held particularly sacred by many in the nation and Hetoum's action was deeply resented.[59] It is obvious how little the Latin customs were appreciated, since every council which met in Cilicia covered the same ground as the one that preceded it.

There were more serious problems than the dating of Easter at that time for in June the Egyptians under al-Ashraf marched northward again. Their destination was Hromgla, the Armenian catholicate. For thirty-three days the fortress held out, then it fell on 28 July 1292. Catholicos Stephen IV was taken prisoner and led off to Egypt along with twelve other bishops. The vast treasures and relics of the catholicate were seized as plunder, among them the arm of St. Gregory the Illuminator.[60] Within a year Stephen died in prison and the news of his death occasioned an election in Sis for a successor. Hetoum's candidate was the bishop of Anazarba who was elected to the catholicate as Gregory VII (1293-1307). The seat of the catholicate was transferred to Sis, commencing a succession of bishops which has continued with that title to this day.[61]

Having settled religious affairs to his satisfaction, Hetoum handed over the kingdom to his brother Toros. He then went off to become a brother at the Franciscan convent in Sis. Here the king was known simply as Brother John and devoted himself to the service of the convent. Unfortunately for Brother

58. Alishan, *Léon,* p. 369; and Wadding, V, 329.

59. On the question of the date of Easter, see A. Sanjian, "Crazatik 'Erroneous Easter'–a source of Greco-Armenian Religious Controversy," *Studia Caucasia,* 2 (1966), 26-47.

60. Samuel of Ani, I, 463; Hetoum, I, 489. Der Nersessian, II, 656; M. Van Esbroeck, "Chronique Arménienne," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 80 (1962), 430 ff. The arm of Gregory was recovered by Hetoum ten years later.

61. Samuel of Ani, I, 463; Sempad, I, 653. From 1292 till 1895 when the catholicate at Sis was eliminated by the Turks, sixty-three prelates held office there. Since 1930 the catholicos has lived at Antelias in Lebannon.

John the Franciscans decided to return to Italy in 1294, consequently Hetoum cast off his habit and returned to his throne.[62]

Toros had dealt with the Mamluks during his brief rule in the same way as his brother, by increasing the tribute and relinquishing a number of forts. Shortly afterwards al-Ashraf was murdered, Egypt was in turmoil, and for a brief moment Armenia was given a bit of peace. Hetoum worked hard to strengthen his alliances during this respite. He visited the court of Ghazan Khan in Tabriz to refurbish the Mongol alliance and made new contacts with Cyprus. Then in 1295 arrangements were made for his sister to marry into the royal family in Constantinople. Hetoum and Toros escorted their sister to the Palaeologian capital in 1296. While they were there, however, another brother, Sempad (1296-98), seized the throne with the support of Catholicos Gregory. On their return to Sis, Sempad arrested his brothers; Hetoum was partially blinded and Toros strangled. But Sempad, who had sought the approbation of Pope Boniface VIII and received it, did not enjoy his victory for long. Still another brother, Constantine, staged a coup and associated Hetoum with him as co-ruler. Shortly afterward Hetoum, with the aid of the Hospitallers, overthrew Constantine and was restored as sole ruler.[63]

The conflict in the royal house and the obvious weakness of Armenian defenses encouraged the Mamluks to resume their attack. They entered Cilicia in 1298, sacking Adana and Mamistra and capturing eleven forts. Hetoum summoned the Mongols to his side and with Ghazan Khan's help defeated the Mamluks near Homs in 1299. However, as happened so often in the past, the Mamluks were only checked temporarily. They returned to the attack in 1301. The king's response inexplicably was once again to return to the religious life. He set up his sixteen-year old nephew Leo IV as king, although he retained the office of regent and directed the affairs of the nation from his monastery.[64]

During these years Catholicos Gregory VII at Sis headed the Armenian church. He was firmly attached to the Catholic church and wrote to Rome often expressing his devotion in such terms as the following: "Who does not recognize the holy church of Rome as the mother and teacher of all the other churches, the fount of wisdom, the model of holiness and the norm of the or-

62. Moorman, pp. 193 and 235; J. Mécérian, *Histoire et institutions de l'église arménienne: évolution nationale et doctrinale, spiritualité monachisme* (Beirut: Imprimérie catholique, 1965), pp. 109 ff.

63. Boniface VIII to Sempad, Rieti, 5 Oct. 1298, in *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. G. Digard, M. Fauçon, *et al.*, in *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, 4 vols. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1907-39), no. 2653; Samuel of Ani, I, 463-65; *Annales, anno 1298*, IV, nos. 16 and 17. Boniface urged Catholicos Gregory in a separate letter, "to strengthen the Armenian clergy and the people in the faith which the holy Roman church preaches, teaches and holds," *Annales*, IV, no. 18.

64. Sempad, I, 656-64.

thodox faith?"[65] Moreover, Gregory tried to convince his clergy that all Armenian customs should be brought into complete conformity with Rome: mixing water with the Eucharistic wine, accepting all seven ecumenical councils and celebrating Christmas on 25 December. The pope at this time, Clement V, the first of the Avignon popes, took a great interest in Armenian affairs since he wanted a new crusade to be undertaken as soon as possible.[66] The catholicos felt he might strengthen the Armenian alliance with Rome by summoning a council to meet at Sis in 1307. As a prelude to the meeting, the old excommunication levelled against the rival catholicate at Aghtamar was lifted, but Gregory died before the council could meet.[67] The synod which opened at Sis on 19 March 1307 was one of the great national councils of Cilician Armenia. A total of twenty-six bishops was present including six from Cilicia, eight from Caucasian Armenia, one from Constantinople and another from Saloniki.[68] In addition a large number of abbots and vardapets were in attendance. The council chose as Gregory's successor the bishop of Caesarea, Constantine III (1307-22), whose sympathies, like those of his predecessor, were with the pro-Roman faction in the Armenian church.

The council discussed those issues in which the Armenian church was still at odds with the Latins. Opposed to Armenian acceptance of any compromise of the national tradition was a group led by Bishop Stephen of Siunia, who argued for his party that "they would rather descend into hell with their ancestors than go up to heaven with the Greco-Romans."[69] The nationalist group urged Catholicos Constantine to leave Cilicia and its Western atmosphere and come to live in Caucasian Echmiadzin.

The pro-Latin policy, supported by Hetoum and Leo IV, carried the day, however. The seven councils recognized by Greeks and Latins were fully accepted by the Armenians, and the Chalcedonian formula on the nature of Christ was confirmed as Armenian doctrine. The calendar was to conform to the Latin church, water was to be put into the wine at the Liturgy and west-

65. Quoted in B. Talantian, "Il primato de Pietro e del papa nella chiesa Armena," *Studia Orientalia Christiana de Centro Franciscano,* 5 (1960), 259-60; A. Balgy, *Historia doctrinae catholicae inter Armenos unionisque eorum cum Ecclesia romana in concilio Florentino* (Wien: W. Heinrich, 1878), pp. 68-69.

66. Clement V to Leo III and Catholicos Gregory, Bordeaux, 2 July 1306; to Arthur duke of Britain, 2 July 1306; to the Genoese, 2 July 1306; to the Hospitallers, 6 June 1307; to King of the Mongols, Poitiers, 1 March 1308, in *Regestum Clementis Papae V,* 9 vols. in 7 (Roma: ex typographia Vaticana, 1885-1957), nos. 748, 750, 751, 1033, and 3549; *Annales, anno 1306* and *anno 1308,* IV, nos. 13, 30, and 31.

67. D. Vernier, *Histoire de patriarcat arménien catholique* (Paris, 1891), p. 237.

68. The list of those in attendance is given in *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio,* ed. J. D. Mansi (Graz, 1961-), XXV, 134-35. See also K. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux,* 12 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907-52); VI, 601 ff.

69. Quoted in Stéphannos Orbélian, *Histoire de la Siounie,* 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1864-66), I, 329-30.

ern vestments were to be used. Also the fasting seasons of the Armenians were to be brought into line with those in use by the Roman church. The arguments offered by the synod's majority in support of Latinization was that the old and true traditions of the Armenian church had in fact been in complete conformity with the Latins. "One must obey the holy and apostolic church of Rome, because it is founded on the orthodox faith of the Apostle Peter, just as the body obeys the head, thus all the churches that make up the body of Christ must obey him whom Christ has made the head of the church."[70] A chronicler testified to the sentiments of the Caucasian Armenians, "During his reign the Grand Baron Hetoum held a council in which union with the church of Rome was agreed upon and the tradition of our Illuminator was destroyed."[71]

The decisions taken at the council were accepted in Sis and its environs, but ignored by the bishops who came from Muslim or Byzantine-controlled dioceses. In Jerusalem, the Armenian community not only rejected the Council of Sis but Bishop Sargis moved to set up a separate catholicate in the Holy City. Relations were broken with Sis after 1311 and the Mamluk Sultan Nasir-Muhammad recognized Sargis as the head of the Armenians within Egyptian borders. When the bishop of Kars put water into the Eucharistic wine, according to the canon adopted at Sis, he was killed. Such was the tragically divisive result of the Council of Sis.[72]

While Catholicos Constantine and Hetoum sought to bring their church closer to the West, the Mamluks and their allies continued to pressure the Armenians. In 1304 the Egyptians overran more fortresses on the Eastern boundary and were dissuaded from advancing further only on the promise of payment of the annual tribute in advance. A year later a joint Mongol-Armenian force was beaten, but then a recovery occurred which permitted the Council of Sis to be held in relative peace. But in that same year, November, 1307, for reasons which are still not explained, the Mongol commander Bilarghu invited King Leo, the regent Hetoum and forty barons to his camp near Anazarba. When the unsuspecting Armenians arrived they were all massacred. A colophon from an Armenian manuscript simply states, ". . . the Armenian Grand Baron Het'um and his nephew the handsome and bountiful youth Leon, son of Baron Toros, were slain by the wicked Pelarloy [Bilarghu] at the foot of Anazarb which caused great grief among the Armenian nation."[73]

70. Mansi, XXV, 135-48; Balgy, pp. 70-71.

71. Samuel of Ani, I, 465.

72. H. F. Tournebize, "Arménie," in *Dictionnaire d'historire et de géographie ecclésiastique,* ed. A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, U. Rouzies, *et al.,* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912-), I, 318.

73. Colophon of 1307, cited in A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manscripts, 1301-1480, A Source for Middle Eastern History,* Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies, 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1969), p. 54.

One of the royal family who escaped the massacre was the twenty-six year old uncle of Leo IV, Prince Oshin. The catholicos and the nation rallied behind him and at Tarsus he was anointed and crowned as King Oshin I (1308-20). His first activities consisted of a number of successful campaigns to clear the treacherous Mongols from Cilicia. After the massacre Oshin believed that Mongol dependability was forever gone. Contributing to this sentiment was the conversion of the khans of Tabriz to Islam after 1295, hence destroying the anti-Muslim coalition they formerly shared with the Armenians. Armenia was therefore left only with its Western allies, the strongest of whom was the papacy. Oshin was convinced, like many of the Byzantine emperors of this same era, that Western knights would come pouring into Armenia if only the popes directed them to do so. This policy was not a successful one for Roman power was overrated by the Armenians: the national monarchs of the West had more pressing concerns closer to home; their interest in the Crusade was minimal despite papal exhortations to the contrary. On the other hand, by holding to a Latin policy which many felt submerged the national interests the Cilician kings lost the good will of millions of Armenians who lived outside their borders and even within their own kingdom. Both in 1308, at Adana, and a year later at Sis, popular riots took place against the king's religious policies and Latinizing clerics. Oshin put them down with great severity killing some, imprisoning others and putting recalcitrant monks upon a ship bound for Cyprus.[74]

Nevertheless, Oshin never deviated from the course which he felt to be correct. He even traveled to Bitlis to meet with Armenian clerics there to convince them of the value of his policy. In 1311 he called a synod for the capital where deviations from the canons of Sis were strongly denounced. Oshin wrote to Pope Clement V telling of what had happened in Armenia and asking his assistance in settling a dispute between Armenia and Cyprus. He also asked the pope to commission the Franciscans to return to Cilicia. The pope responded affirmatively: six Franciscans were sent; Daniel of Terdona was appointed as Clement's personal legate with the title Archbishop of Tarsus.[75]

Five years later, at a time when both Mongols and Mamluks were again threatening to crush the tiny kingdom, either by military might or economic collapse due to the size of the tribute required, Oshin summoned a new council to meet at Adana in the church of St. Menas. Oshin was well aware the conciliar reforms required by Sis were not being observed. Besides the king,

74. Samuel of Ani, I, 466-67.

75. Clement to Daniel of Terdona; and to Minister general of Franciscans in Cyprus, Priory of Grausello, 22 June 1311 in *Regestum*, nos. 7198 and 7200; Lemmens, p. 32; Wadding, VI, 206. Other sources mention a Dominican archbishop at Tarsus, James of Chiusi. The Latin bishopric lasted until 1366. On Clement's policies, see J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient, 1342-1352* (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1904).

seventeen bishops were in attendance (ten from Cilicia), five vardapets and a number of monks. The ranking prelates were the Catholicos Constantine, Archbishop John of Tarsus, Constantine of Sis, and Stephen of Adana. A German Dominican friar, Burcard, was also present in the capacity of advisor. Concerning his role in promoting the union of the churches he later wrote: "I have been the promoter, the worker, and the executor."[76] Not only were all of the decisions made at Sis reconfirmed, but several other Latin customs were adopted concerning the administration of the sacraments. As for those opposed to Sis and its decisions the council stated: "We declare them separated by the authority of the Holy Spirit and the Catholic and Apostolic Roman church, and we reject them; moreover we cast them out of our flock and our sheepfold until they make restitution through penance."[77]

A delegation headed by an Armenian bishop, James of Gaban, went with two barons, Stephen and Gerard, to Avignon to report to John XXII on the condition of the Armenian church. The pope found James to be orthodox on all matters and having examined the practices of the church, John discovered only two issues at fault, allowing priests to confirm and to bless the oil used for anointing the sick. John realized, he notes, that this is the Armenian tradition, and that it was done out of "ignorance and simplicity" rather than contempt. He urged James to return with a creed which might be used by his church which contained explicit statements on penance, purgatory, paradise and hell. It included a specific mention of transubstantiation. John asked further that property be given to the Dominicans in Ayas so that a school of religion might be established there. The delegates returned with a gift from the pope of 30,000 sequins and a papal promise to do everything possible to urge King Philip the Fair to send aid to Oshin.[78]

One of the difficulties Oshin had in keeping the Armenian church closely tied to Rome stemmed from the fact that many of the leading Latinists among the Armenians had already departed or were in the process of leaving for Italy and the security of the West. In fact there were already sufficient Armenians in the West to form a religious house in Genoa in 1307 and soon afterward this congregation, called "The Brothers of St. Bartholomew," had communities in a dozen other Italian cities. By 1356 the papacy had given its approval to the group which followed the Rule of St. Augustine.[79]

76. Alishan, *Sissouan,* p. 299; Balgy, pp. 73-74. Burcard was the author of *Directorium ad Philippum regem,* in *RhC: Da,* II, 368-527, a tract urging the French king to the crusade. See also A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages,* 2nd ed. (rpt., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1970), pp. 97-98.

77. Balgy, p. 75.

78. *Annales, anno 1317,* V, nos. 35 and 36; and *anno 1318,* V, nos. 8-16. John was shocked that the Mamluks obtained their arms from Genoa.

79. The order survived until 1650. A copy of its rule is found in M. A. van der Oudenrijn, *Les constitutions des Frères Arméniens de Saint Basile en Italie,* Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 126 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1940).

Two individual Armenians who became Latin Catholics were Hetoum of Lampron and Daniel of Tarsus. Hetoum was a prince, related to the royal family, whose early life was spent in the court of King Hetoum II. He went off to Cyprus and there joined the Premonstratensians leaving later for France where he met with Clement V and told him the history of the Eastern peoples. Hetoum then went to Poitiers where he became the prior of his order's house in that city. While there, in 1307, he wrote a treatise at the suggestion of the pope, the *Flos historiarum Terre Orientis*, a work which combined history and polemics in encouraging the West to go to the aid of the Christians of the East and Armenia.[80] Daniel of Tarsus was an Armenian Franciscan whose origins were probably in Cyprus. He came to Cilicia in 1310 in the company of Princess Isabelle, daughter of King Leo IV. He took up residence in Sis and taught at the cathedral where he enjoyed considerable influence.[81]

At this time, Pope John XXII commenced a vast missionary effort to convert the East. To further this task the Dominican Raymond Etienne came to Cilicia in 1318 and opened a school of religion at Ayas according to the request made earlier to Oshin. Prompted by the success of a group of Dominican missionaries in the Crimea, who called themselves the "Traveling Brothers" (Fratres Peregrinantes), John divided the Asian continent between Franciscans and Dominicans for missionary work in a decree of 1 April 1318. The center of the Dominican missions was established at Sultaniya in Persia. Franco of Perugia was named archbishop; subject to him were six suffragans scattered throughout the East. From this mission a new era of Catholic-Armenian contacts developed in Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan, especially after the founding of the Catholic Armenian order of the Brothers of Unity.[82]

At a time when the Christian East was in such peril, for the Turcomans and Mamluks were again raiding along the frontier, it is hard to realize that Armenia and Cyprus could go to war over dynastic issues, yet such was the case in 1319. A year later Oshin was dead; his son Leo V (1320-41), then eleven years of age, was his successor. Because of his youth, his uncle, also named Oshin, prince of Gorigos, was made regent. He was a man of tyrannical qualities, who hoped to aggrandize his own position by marrying his daughter to the young king. A dispensation was forwarded by John XXII for the cousins to marry so Oshin's goal was achieved.

In 1321 the situation was so perilous in Cilicia that the royal court had to flee to Ayas and place itself under the protection of Venice. A year later, the

80. The Old French and Latin versions are to be found in *RhC: Da,* II, 114-369; and Atiya, p. 62.

81. *RhC: Da,* II, 559 ff.

82. Loenertz, p. 187; M. van den Oudenrijn, "Uniteurs et Dominicains d'Arménie," *Oriens Christianus,* 40 (1956), 94-112; C. Frazee, "Catholic Missions to Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan," *Diakonia,* 9, No. 3 (1974), 251-60. The official name of the brothers was Fratres Unitores.

city was taken and a new agreement with the Mamluks was signed which promised them 50 percent of the customs of the port and half of the taxes gathered from the sale of salt.[83]

In this same year Catholicos Constantine III died, to be followed by Constantine IV of Lampron (1322-26). His four year tenure in office was marked by a personal attempt to negotiate a treaty with the Mamluk prince at Aleppo. In return for an increase in the tribute, Armenia was allowed to rebuild its forts. Pope John XXII saw the Egyptians, led by a new Pharaoh, seeking "to abolish the name and worship of Christians from that land." He assisted the Armenian effort by sending 37,000 florins to rebuild Ayas and to strengthen its defenses. He also secured 10,000 bezants from Philip V and convinced the Mongols to send a contingent of cavalry to support Armenia.[84]

Constantine was followed in the Catholicate by James II of Tarsus (1327-41). James had formerly been the superior of the monastery of Kailtsor near Erivan, but unlike many other Caucasians favored close relations with Rome. He supervised the church from Sis, still attempting to keep Catholic-Armenian relations intact despite the obvious difficulties inherent in that position.[85] In 1335 the Mamluks marched again on Cilicia; two years later they struck Sis, destroyed the royal castle and forced Leo to sign a humiliating treaty which virtually incorporated Armenia into the empire of Nasir Muhammad. Later King Leo wrote Pope Benedict XII asking for a dispensation from the oath he made to the Mamluks in arranging a truce on the obvious grounds that it had not been given freely. Benedict obliged him in May, 1338.[86] A new assault was made by the Egyptians in the following year, making "the land of Armenia a desert."[87]

The Cilician church came under attack from an unexpected quarter around 1340 when accusations were raised by the Armenian Catholics of Nakhichevan that those in Leo's kingdom were not sufficiently orthodox. The charges against the Armenians in Cilicia were drawn up by the Brothers of Unity, principally Nerses Balients, bishop of Urmia. Nerses found a total of 117 errors then in vogue among the Cilicians which he enumerated in an unsigned document which was sent to Avignon for the eyes of Pope Benedict XII.[88]

83. Samuel of Ani, I, 467.

84. *Annales, anno 1322,* V, nos. 30-37; *anno 1323,* V, vos. 4-9.

85. Sempad, I, 669; John XXII to Gerald of Paphos, Avignon, 3 March 1329, in *Lettres communes, Jean XXII (1316-1334),* ed. G. Mollat, 19 vols. in 15 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1904-59), VI, no. 46246.

86. Benedict XII to Leo, Avignon, 1 May 1338, in *Benoît XII (1334-1342)- Lettres communes,* ed. J. M. Vidal, 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1903-11), II, no. 6161. Benedict XII had previously offered a plenary indulgence to any Catholic taking up the Crusader's sword in behalf of Armenia. *Ibid.,* Avignon, 1 May 1331, I, no. 3971.

87. Samuel of Ani, I, 468. *Annales, anno 1335,* nos. 33-34; *Anno 1336,* no. 40; *anno 1337,* no. 24.

88. In *RhC: Da,* II, 559-650.

This communication arrived in France at the same time delegates from King Leo V were there seeking new military and financial assistance for the hard-pressed kingdom. Happily one of these was the Franciscan Daniel of Tarsus who immediately wrote an answer to the charges made by Nerses entitled the *Response of Brother Daniel to the Errors Imputed to the Armenians.* Daniel charged that the anonymous author was Nerses whom he accused of having once been deposed because of his own bad doctrine and unworthy life. Although Daniel was trusted by the pope, Benedict believed that there were errors in the church and asked that a synod be convened at Sis to correct them.[89]

Meanwhile in Cilician Armenia Leo had a falling out with Catholicos James II and dismissed him. He was replaced according to the king's wishes, with Mekhitar I (1341-55). Leo did not live through the year; he was killed in August, 1341, and the Armenian nobility chose the Cypriote Guy of Lusignan (1342-44) to succeed him. Guy was the son of the Armenian Isabelle and King Amalric of Cyprus, thus bringing a new dynasty to Sis. Guy took the name Constantine II to please his Armenian subjects, but with him came a large number of French barons and knights. He sent a delegation to Pope Clement VI seeking his support. Clement promised to represent him before the European monarchs, but requested Guy first search out the "heretics" in the Armenian church and expel them.[90] As so often happened in the past, the Western ways of their king and his court offended the sensibilities of the Armenians. Guy and his brother were killed by rebels in November, 1344. The news troubled the pope when he heard it for he felt Guy to be a "true Catholic."[91]

The crown of Armenia now passed to the native Armenian Constantine III (1344-62). Despite the fact he was the candidate of the national party, Constantine was eager to hold the church of the kingdom within the Roman orbit. The small extent of his realm and its weakness did not leave him any choice. With the assent of the Catholicos Mekhitar, the council requested by the Papacy was summoned to meet in Sis in 1345. The main order of business was for the church to respond to the 117 charges made against it. In attendance were six archbishops, twenty-three bishops and five vardapets mainly from Cilicia but with the church of the Seljuk sultanate also well represented.[92] The council listened to all 117 charges made against the orthodoxy of

89. *Annales, anno 1341,* nos. 45-70.

90. Clement to Guy, Avignon, 8 Sept. and 11 Sept. 1344, in *Clement VI (1342-1352), Lettres closes, patentes et curiales,* ed. E. Déprez and G. Mollat, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1901-61), II, no. 1098.

91. Jean Dardel, *Chronicle of Armenia,* 35, in *RhC: Da,* II, 27. The pope queried an Armenian delegation then at Avignon why Guy had been killed. They replied they could give no reasons.

92. Mansi, supplement III, 446-536.

the Cilician church. Among the issues were questions of doctrine such as the relation between the Persons in the Trinity, the procession of the Holy Spirit, and original sin. In addition, many trifling matters were included, hardly deserving of a response, yet the council answered each accusation in detail with quotations from the Fathers and Scriptures. The work composed by Daniel of Tarsus was used as a model.[93]

A report of the council was forwarded to Avignon. Pope Clement VI was not completely satisfied since the Brothers of Unity pointed out flaws in the response. He decided to dispatch two delegates, Bishop-designate John of Coron and Archbishop Anthony Aribandi of Gaeta to personally investigate the religious situation in Cilicia. They were equipped with broad powers to carry out their mission. The delegates met with Catholicos Mekhitar and his clergy and questioned them vigorously; although the Armenians claimed they willingly obeyed the Holy Father in all things, took an oath upon the Gospels "they were good, true, obedient and loyal Christians to the Holy Father and to the Holy Church of Rome," signed a profession of faith and affixed their seals, the legates were not convinced of their sincerity.[94] A new papal commission was sent to Sis in October, 1350, headed by Odo of Paphos with orders to instruct, solidify, and confirm the people in the faith. Odo submitted a detailed questionnaire to the harassed Mekhitar; he also brought copies of Gratian's *Decretals* which he hoped the Armenians would adopt. The catholicos answered his examiners and at last convinced them that, in no way, he held doctrines contrary to the church of Rome. Clement VI promised the Armenians 12,000 gold bezants and 1,000 knights if they remained loyal to the Catholic church in the correspondence which followed.[95]

Before his death, Mekhitar was asked once more to make a profession of faith. It was to be received by the Dominican superior of the Holy Land and the heresy-hunting Bishop Nerses of Balients, whose suspicion of Mekhitar presumably could never be satisfied. Mekhitar rightfully refused to see Bishop Nerses. Instead he and King Constantine sent the former catholicos, James II, to visit Innocent VI at Avignon to assure the pope and his court of the devotion of the Armenians in Cilicia to Catholicism. This mission was performed so well that when Mekhitar died in 1355, James II took up the catholicate a second time. For the next four year he governed the church in complete con-

93. *Ibid.*, XXV, 1185-1270; Mércérian, p. 113; Wadding, XII, 326-27; Tournebize, *Histoire,* pp. 670-74.

94. Dardal, II, 28-29 (37); Clement VI, to Bertrand, Cardinal of St. Mark's, Avignon, 3 Sept. 1346, in *Lettres,* II, pt. 1, no. 2777. The Archbishop of Armagh, Richard Fitzralph, composed a work entitled *Summa in questionibus Armenorum* as a result of these doctrinal problems. See W. R. Jones, "The Armenian Church and the Papacy in the Fourteenth Century: Richard Fitzralph's Critique of Armenian Christianity," *Armenian Review,* 25 (1972), 3-9.

95. *Annales, anno 1346,* VI, nos. 67-68; *anno 1347,* VI, nos. 28-29; and *anno 1350,* no. 37.

formity with the wishes of the Catholic church. He was followed in office by Mesrop of Ardaz (1359-72) who immediately sent a profession of faith to the West. However, the question of mixing water in the Eucharistic wine was still resisted by many of his clergy, so that at their demand, the practice was dropped by a synod held in 1361.[96]

mission was performed so well that when Mekhitar died in 1355, James II took up the Catholicate a second time. For the next four years he governed the church in complete conformity with the wishes of the Catholic church. He was followed in office by Mesrop of Ardaz (1359-72) who immediately sent a profession of faith to the West. However, the question of mixing water in the Eucharistic wine was still resisted by many of his clergy, so that at their demand, the practice was dropped by a synod held in 1361.[96]

The political situation was little improved during these years. Constantine's kingdom was frequently at the mercy of Muslim attacks despite help from the papacy, Cyprus, and the Hospitallers, now stationed on Rhodes. The Black Death struck Cilicia in 1360 and its effects lingered on. Finally in 1362, Constantine III died without any heir. Peter I Lusignan of Cyprus claimed the throne but Pope Urban V nominated Leo, a nephew of Constantine II. For approximately a year Leo VI ruled as king (1363-64) but the Armenian nobility chose a Hetoumid cousin of the late monarch to be Constantine IV (1364-73). To hold his throne, the Armenian king promised to be a faithful vassal of Cyprus. Thus when Peter's fleet attacked the city of Alexandria in 1365 the Armenians in Mamluk territory were punished as his allies.[97]

Constantine IV was unable to rally his kingdom. There was, in truth, little prospect for success since the size of his domain was so small and its resources so few; only outside aid could have saved him. During the course of these years church leadership passed from Mesrop to Constantine V of Sis (1372-74) who ruled for two years; then Paul I of Sis (1374-77) was elected to the catholicate.[98]

In April, 1373, Constantine IV was killed and Mary, widow of Constantine III was declared regent. But on Cyprus Leo VI once again put forth his claim to Sis and was supported by Pope Urban V. In September, 1374, he deposed Mary. In the Church of the Holy Wisdom the Cypriote prince was crowned jointly by a Latin bishop of Cyprus and the Catholicos Paul (1374-75). Leo had not been in power a month before an army led by al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Muslim emir of Aleppo, appeared outside the walls of Sis. Leo asked his soldiers to swear they would fight as good Christians as long as possible to pre-

96. L. Arpee, *A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Time* (New York: The Armenian Missionary Association of America, Inc., 1946), pp. 158-60; and Vernier, pp. 254-56.

97. Sanjian, *Colophons*, pp. 95-96. Urban V praised the Armenian church in his day for "the clarity of its faith." See *Annales, anno 1365*, VII, no. 21.

98. Vernier, p. 257; Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 261.

serve the kingdom. The seige continued throughout the whole winter and into the spring. There was nothing to eat; the situation became impossible, so that on 6 April 1375 the Armenians surrendered to the Muslim army. The city was plundered, its churches destroyed, the king, his wife and child were taken prisoners. Leo was offered an opportunity to win back his throne by becoming a Muslim but he refused. The kingdom of Cilician Armenia had come to an end. An eye witness, the bishop of Zakare, reported his feelings, "Who can recount in writing the tragedy which my eyes witnessed for I saw the bright sun, the stars, and the moon fall down."[99]

King Leo's wife and daughter died in captivity in Jerusalem, where they were buried in the monastery of St. James. The king was put into the Citadel of Cairo until 1382 when he was ransomed and released on a promise never to return to the East. He visited the courts of the West and died in Paris, a pensioner of the French King Charles VI, in 1393. He was buried in the royal chapel of St. Denis where his tomb is still to be seen. In Sis, Catholicos Paul was allowed to keep his see, subject now to the Muslim governor of the city, Yakuhshah. Later his successor in the catholicate, Theodore II (1377-92) was killed by the Muslims along with many of the remaining nobles. By this time many of the Armenians had left Cilicia; only ruins remained to testify to the importance that Sis once enjoyed as the capital of the Armenian people.[100]

The end of the kingdom also meant that relations with the Roman church were severed despite individual efforts to keep the union alive. The center of Catholic Armenia now passed to Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan where the Brothers of Unity continued to win thousands of converts to the Catholic faith. The Armenians were represented at the Council of Florence by a delegation sent from the Genoese colony of Caffa. During the Ottoman period the cause of Catholicism once again prospered among the Armenians until the disaster which struck the whole nation during World War I decimated its numbers. It survives today among the Armenian emigration with its patriarchate in Lebanon.

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99. Quoted in Sanjian, *Colophons*, p. 99; cf. *Annales, anno 1375*, VII, no. 9.
100. Alishan, *Sissouan*, p. 261.

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Aspar and the Burden of Barbarian Heritage

Somewhere on the distant Danube frontier at mid-fifth century an eastern Roman embassy, made famous by the historian Priscus who was in the party, was returning from a visit to Attila the Hun. To break the monotony or for whatever reason, the chief envoy Maximinus treated himself to a gratuitous insult of two eminent generals, Areobindus and Aspar, who were not there, despising them as inconsequential barbarians.[1] These generals had failed to withstand the Huns' invasions and were therefore probably in bad odor politically. But it is significant that this Roman, possibly a *spectabilis comes,* a secondary rank of the aristocracy, felt secure enough in his prejudice to sneer about two "barbarians" who were in fact *illustres* of the highest senatorial status and both claiming long honorable careers in the imperial military service.[2]

Contempt in the Roman world for barbarians and their Arian heresy (often inseparable as objects of opprobrium) had not waned much since reactions in the first decade to the revolt of Gainas and to the regency of the Vandal Stilicho and probably imbued all strata of society throughout the empire.[3] The ambivalence born of prejudice could lead Sidonius, a senator, to extol Aspar's contemporary the *magister* Ricimer, for example, as *quem publica fata respiciunt,* yet admit to detesting barbarians generally.[4]

1. Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 8,* in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* [hereafter *FHG*], ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris, 1848-72), IV, 95. On the generals, see O. Seeck, "Ariovindus," and "Ardabur," in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* eds. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll *et al.* [hereafter Pauly-Wissowa], 31 vols., rev. ed. (Stuttgart, 1894-), II, 841, no. 1, and 606-10, nos. 1-3. Some additional recent works dealing with Aspar are G. Vernadsky, "Flavius Ardabur Aspar, *"Sudostforschungen,* 6 (1941), 38-73; W. Ensslin, "Marcianus," in Pauly-Wissowa, XIV, 1514-29, no. 34, and "Leo," *ibid.*, XII, 1947-61; A. Demandt, "magister militum," *ibid.*, supplement, XII, at 748-53; B. S. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West: From their First Appearance in the Sources of Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1973), pp. 42-50, 76, 98, and 102. On the ethnic heritage in addition to Vernadsky and Bachrach, see also M. Vasmer, *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde,* Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für Slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) and der Freien Universität Berlin, Bd. 38, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1971), I, 132.

2. On Maximinus, see W. Ensslin, "Maximinus und sein Begleiter, der Historiker Priskos," *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher,* 5 (1926-27), 1-9.

3. Most conveniently on Gainas and the reaction after Stilicho, see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. De l'état romain à l'état byzantin (284-476),* 2 vols. in 3 (rpt. 1949-59; Amsterdam, 1968), I, 235-37, and 254-55.

4. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Panegyricus Anthemio,* 352-53, and *Epistulae,* 7. 14. 10, in *Sidonius, Poems* and *Letters,* trans, W. B. Anderson, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1936-65), I.

What interests us here is that the inherited baggage of ethnic background and religion carries on into the historical tradition of these times and even, it seems, into later scholarly appraisal. Certainly the orthodox Byzantine writers seem less than totally objective on Aspar, while some modern scholars have been sure that the ethnic background and heretical faith of these generals is one key to the collapse of the West.[5]

An upward-mobile patrician in the mold of Stilicho, Fl. Ardabur Aspar found himself a kingmaker in effective control of the East during the demise of the legitimate dynasty. This seems clear. Because, however, he was Alan and Arian in an age of acute Christological controversy, his true Roman loyalty is called into suspicion by modern scholars, who also assume then that he was ambitious (for what, it is not completely clear), that this ambition explains why he went so far as to force the Emperor Leo to designate one of his sons *Caesar,* or successor to the throne, and that this ambition would have led to something like *coup d'état,* if Leo had not been clever enough to enlist Isaurian support.[6]

The purpose of this study is to appraise the validity of such assumptions by examining the best evidence for Aspar's rise to power, his foreign policy, and his ecclesiastical politics to see if there is, even inferentially, evidence of ambition and frustration, subversive connivance, separatism, and heretical fanaticism. If there is not, then modern scholars have supposed too much about Aspar's political attitudes and conception of his own job, through unwitting susceptibilities to later Byzantine prejudices.

Nothing in Aspar's early record suggests leanness and hunger. On his way to becoming chief of the armed forces, *primus patriciorum,* and virtual coruler of the East, this scion of an established military dynasty embarked with literally a silver plate in his hand, one celebrating his consulship of 434, featured with his father and a son, both named Ardaburius, and grandfather (?) Plinta, all generals (despite the failure of his recent Vandalic Expedition.[7]

5. See for example, E. Barker, "Italy and the West, 410-476," in *The Cambridge Medieval History,* ed. J. B. Bury *et al.*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1924-67), I, 393-95; N. Baynes, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays* (London, 1960), p. 77; and J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire: From the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian,* 2 vols. (New York, 1958), I, 312.

6. Works cited in n. 1, and also Stein, I, 353-61, convey an essentially negative impression of Aspar as a semi-successful manipulator.

7. *Corpus incriptionum latinarum* (Berlin, 1862-) [hereafter *CIL.*], XI,2367. For bibliography on it, see W. Ensslin, "Plinta," in Pauly-Wissowa, XXI, 457, to which should be added W. Meyer, "Zwei Antike Elfenbeintaflen," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische Klasse,* 15 (1881), 1–84, at pp. 6 and 56. *Primus patriciorum:* Marcellinus, *Chronicon,* s. a. 471, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi,* ed. T. Mommsen, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877-1919) [hereafter *MGH, AA*]; πρῶτος τῆς συγκλήτου: *Chronicon Paschale,* ed. L. Dindorf, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1832), I, 596. On the expedition of 431, see Procopius, *De Bello Vandalicum,* 1. 3. 4, in Procopius, *Opera Omnia,* ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, 3 vols. in 4 (Leipzig, 1905-13); and

Having served under his father in Italy against the usurper John in 425, Aspar probably took his place before 431 as *Mag. Mil. Praesentalis,* one of two clearly preeminent generalships in the eastern command.[8] Within the praesental command there were mostly crack Palatine units, seventeen or eighteen of which were *Auxilia Palatina.*[9] The barbarians in these were among the very best material in the Roman army at this time and were undoubtedly picked for the hardest missions. It is really unnecessary, therefore, to explain in terms of private armies, personal retainers (οἰκεῖα), Gothic *scholae,* or *foederati,* why Aspar would appear with other barbarians from time to time.[10]

Aspar is mentioned as *magister militum* in a law of 441, a year in which he was dispatched to check the Huns in the north, while another general, Anatolius, was sent to handle hostilities in the East, each concluding a

Evagrius Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia,* eds. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (London, 1898), 2. 1. Additional sources and discussion see Ensslin, "Marcian," 1514; C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l' Afrique* (Paris, 1955), pp. 163-64; W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton, 1968), p. 27.

8. On the organization of the high command in the fifth century, see *Notitia Dignitatum, accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum,* ed. O. Seeck (1876; rpt. Frankfurt am Main, 1962). The most recent study of the *Notitia* is D. Hoffmann, *Das spätromischen Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum,* 2 vols., Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Bd. 7 (Düsseldorf, 1969-70). Also see T. Mommsen, "Das römische Militärwesen seit Diokletian," *Hermes,* 24 (1889), 195-279 = *Gesammelte Schriften,* 8 vols., (Berlin, 1905-13), Bd. VI, 206-83. Demandt in Pauly-Wissowa, supplement, XII, 553-790, is far too adventurous. Technically, the *praesentales* and three regional generals were equal in authority, but the former had most of the best troops. In the West the system was different, there being three generals, two of them *praesentales,* for infantry and cavalry, and a *magister equitum per Gallias.* In the course of the century there arose a *magister utriusque militiae* in supreme command, which evolved into the "Patrician," as in the western usage. In the East, there were numerous "Patricians." This evolution is detailed in W. Ensslin, "Zum Heermeisteramt des spätrömischen Reiches," *Klio,* 23 (1930), 306-25; 24 (1931), 102-47, and 467-502.

9. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire (284-602), A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964), map iv. On the *auxilia palatina,* see pp. 97-98, 120, 125, and 610-11.

10. The assumption that Aspar's troops were always or frequently private retainers, as in Seeck, "Ardabur," 608; and Vernadsky, pp. 39-40, 44, and 51-52, seems unwarranted on the basis of a few glimpses in late, and not especially reliable, sources of him or Ardaburius, his son, *magister militum per Orientem,* in the company of a few "Goths." The sources do not demonstrate that these were *bucellarii* like those of Belisarius' own force (Procopius, *De Bello Gothicum,* 3. 1. 18-20, in Haury) in the sixth century. That is not to say that there were no *bucellarii* in the fifth century, for there is evidence that there were (see Jones, p. 1276, n. 140), but only that there is nothing to indicate that they were anywhere nearly as numerous or important as in the next century, when the army structure is more irregular. Why could Aspar's "Goths" not have been Palatine auxiliaries, the best troops, on assignment to the general. Assumption that all the German commanders such as those in the Vandalic expedition of 440-41 were "Aspar's," implying possession or a kind of feudal authority, as in Bachrach, p. 46, is ill-considered. Areobindus (see above n. 1) was a general in the East when Aspar would still have been a youth.

one-year peace.[11] There was then the aforementioned failure, of two barbarian generals, to halt the Huns in 443.[12] Much of Thrace was finally abandoned to Attila and the Romans seem, on the whole, more effective in this sector in diplomacy and subsidization.[13]

The Emperor Marcian, 450-57, married into the house of Theodosius, had been an officer under Aspar in Africa and thus is supposed *his* emperor, although we have no record that he manipulated Marcian who was an effective and independent-minded ruler.[14]

According to Theoderic the Great, the senate offered Aspar the throne upon Marcian's death. He rejected it, saying he did not want to set a precedent.[15] Possibly the generals who had been young officers under the house of Theodosius had strong feelings about the inviolability of the throne; at least one barbarian *magister* did.[16] Whatever the precedent he did not want to set, Aspar was content to see another of his officers, Leo, tribune of the legion Matiarii, made emperor and, probably much later, his own son Patricius designated *Caesar*.[17] According to Malalas, the nomination of Leo was also the work of the senate, although Priscus says it was Aspar's choice.[18]

Aspar was clearly at the height of his power and influence now. Letters from the pope recognize him effectively as co-ruler of the East.[19] That he

11. Marcellinus, s. a. 441

12. Theophanes, *Chronographia,* ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 102; Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta, FHG,* IV, 74. Chronology of actions against the Huns in the 440s is not clear, but E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 78-94, provides the best synthesis. Demandt, 750-51, argues that these entries in Priscus and Theophanes should be dated to 447 since only one king is mentioned, Bleda having died in 445. But Priscus mentions only one king in fragment 3 too (Müller dated at 442), and besides, a retrospective allusion in fragment 11 to a dwarf lost by Aspar in battle before 445 ascertains the action to have taken place before that (so 443?).

13. On the diplomacy of this period, see E. A. Thompson, "The Foreign Policies of Theodosius II and Marcian," *Hermathena,* 68 (1950), 18-31.

14. Ensslin, "Marcian," 1515.

15. *Acta synhodorum Habitarum Romae,* in *MGH, AA,* XII, 425. Stein, I, 353-54, discusses this.

16. Demandt, 770-71, seems close to the mark in stating that the *magistri* had a conception of the "inviolability" of the throne, but is unable to make up his mind whether it was a conception held by all *magistri militum* (781) or just the barbarian ones (774).

17. Ensslin, "Leo," 1958; the *Vita et conversatio S. Marcelli, archimandritae monasterii acoemetorum,* 34, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series graeco-latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris, 1857-66), CXVI, cols. 705-46; Theophanes, *Fragmenta,* in *FHG,* IV, 116; and Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium,* ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn 1838-39), I, 613. On Leos's background, see Ensslin, "Leo," 1947, with a full list of sources and comment, especially important being Candidus Isaurus, *Fragmenta,* in *FHG,* IV, 135.

18. Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia,* ed. L. Dindorf, Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1831), p. 369; Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 20,* in *FHG,* IV, 100.

19. Pope Leo I, *Epistulae,* 149. 2. 152 and 153, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), LIV; and Seeck, "Ardabur," 608.

controlled the throne completely, however, is by no means clear from the evidence of his relations with Leo, another independent mind.[20] Aspar has been accused of few plots and none in a trustworthy or early source.[21]

Because he had the Ardaburii assassinated, Leo became known to posterity as the "butcher."[22] This suggests Aspar's popularity in Constantinople, as does the common saying: "the dead man has no friend but Ostryes," an officer who tried to avenge the murder, while his effort to help quell the great fire of 465 corroborates that he was a man of the people.[23] That he was responsible and civic-minded is attested by his munificence in building the great cistern which bears his name.[24]

In all, the record is of a modest, circumspect, and hard-working citizen/leader, clearly prominent in government and international relations, perhaps by default of the non-barbarian aristocracy with whom he desired his family to be social and political equals. *His* emperors were both independent of mind, a quality which could hardly have eluded him when he was their superior in the army. The state appears to have needed him, and at no time does he seem in conflict with its interests until, perhaps, the sticky question of succession emerges late in Leo's reign.

Aspar's Foreign Policy

Can one detect ethnic influence or other sorts of ulterior motivation like self-interest in Aspar's deportment in foreign policy? In the 440s against the Huns, with whom Aspar would be expected to have little affinity, the eastern Roman general staff seems to have been most effective in diplomacy and subsidization, not fighting, although the evidence is sketchy. Fortunately for

20. The confusion of later Byzantine sources on the Ardaburii is clear in the account by the best of them, Cedrenus, who, in treating the well-known argument between Aspar and Leo over choice of officials, p. 607, says Aspar tried to get Leo to appoint an official who was of similar (i. e. heretical) religious faith, when in fact both personages, and especially Tatianus, who was probably Aspar's choice (on him, see Pauly-Wissowa, IV_a, 2467-68, no. 4), were well-known for their orthodoxy.

21. Only one of the various Byzantine histories of later date suggests that he had Marcian poisoned: Ioannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum libri XIII-XVIII,* eds. M. Pinder and Th. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1841-97), III, 121. Another says that he arranged for his rival Zeno to be killed in Thrace, but this seems equally dubious without support from an earlier source: Theophanes, p. 116, who shows confusion about geography in the same passage. More convincingly, his son Ardaburius was twice accused of treasonous or duplicitous activity; he was apparently more of a conniver: see *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae* 55, in *Analecta Bollandiana,* 32 (1913), 121-214; and John of Antioch, *Fragmenta* 206.2, in *FHG,* IV, 616-17.

22. Candidus Isaurus, *Fragmenta,* in *FHG,* IV, 137; Cedrenus, I, 607; and Ensslin, "Leo," 1947.

23. Malalas, p. 372; and Candidus, 1.

24. *Chronicon Paschale,* p. 593; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine, development urbain et répertoire, topographique,* Archives de l'Orient chrétien, 4 (Paris, 1950), pp. 197-98 and 296-97; and *idem,* "Etudes de topographie byz.: les citernes d'Aetius, d'Aspar, et de Bonus," *Etudes byzantines,* 1 (1943), 85-151, esp. 196.

Constantinople, Attila decided his next target should be the West. Sources on Aspar's efforts against the Goths and Vandals are better. In the north a war, which is variously dated 466 and later, broke out between two barbarian peoples, the Ostrogoths and the Sciri; both sides sought an alliance with the Byzantine government. Aspar advised Leo not to get involved with either of them: ἠγεῖτο μηδετέροις συμμαχεῖν (there is no suggestion of partiality in Priscus).[25] Aspar could surely see the advantages in letting two potential enemies of the empire decimate each other at no cost to the Roman government and with no Roman soldiers wasted. Leo ignored him and ordered support for the Sciri.

Aspar does not appear to have been sentimental about the Goths, though he had Gothic relatives; in another vignette from Priscus we find that he and his officers did not hesitate to annihilate some disadvantaged but desperate Gothic contingents, or more accurately, hesitated only long enough to trick them into a worse position.[26]

It ought to be pointed out that Aspar's attitude toward the Goth/Sciri war and the tactics above-mentioned fit contemporary philosophy of strategy also. At mid-century we find a bishop in the East reminding a certain general that, while the hallmark of a soldier might be "guts," that of a general was "brains."[27] There was a growing textbook bias in military circles toward complete intelligence about the enemy and perceivable advantage before committing troops to battle. Better yet was the spirit, paraphrased, of the *Strategicon*: "win without fighting."[28] An active part of this evolving Byzantine approach to war, Aspar needed no ulterior motive toward caution in strategy.

What to do about the Vandals in North Africa was a special kind of problem for the eastern government, however. After the initial failure of 431, a halfhearted expedition in 440-41 got only as far as Sicily, and found an excuse to go home.[29] But then the Empress Eudoxia and daughters were captured in the sack of Rome in 455 and from then on there was always a certain amount of pressure on Constantinople to force their release. Marcian never

25. Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 35*, in *FHG*, IV, 107; Bury, I, 412; Stein, I, 356; and O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 6 vols. in 8 (Stuttgart, 1897-1920, VI, 358, all presume partisanship of Aspar for the Goths. There is nothing in the sources to support this.

26. Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 39*, in *FHG*, IV, 108-09.

27. Theodoret, *Epistulae 71*, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series graeco-latina*, LXXXIII, cols. 1173-1485.

28. F. Aussaresses, *L. armée byzantine à la Fin du VIe siècle d'après le Strategicon de l'empereur Maurice*, Bibliothèque des Universitès du Midi, fasc. XIV (Bordeaux, 1909), p. 40. Or C. W. C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1924), I, 201: "The generals of the East considered a campaign brought to a successful issue without a great battle as the cheapest and most satisfactory consummation in war."

29. Theophanes, pp. 101-02

launched a Vandalic campaign, however, and at this time, I would suggest, it was the studied verdict of the general staff that an African expedition would cost too much in money and manpower.

In 462-63, embassies from the West were begging Constantinople to keep the Vandals (and Marcellinus of Dalmatia) from making war against Rome. According to best authority, the western government requested aid from the East in the form of a naval expedition, which was refused them because of a treaty which the East had with the Vandals. The precise details are a matter for speculation.[30] The important question to ask is why the Romans did not see it as viable to fight the Vandals then, for they would not have been constrained by a treaty if war had been urgent to them.

Modern scholarship tends to predicate the easterners' hesitancy here on some supposed agreement or affinity of Aspar with the Vandals, or possibly to promises said to have been made by Marcian in 432 while under Aspar.[31] One does not have to look that far, however, for the rationale. Consider Procopius' account of the government debate preceding Justinian's intervention in Africa. Simplified, the reasons against intervention were: (a) the magistrates foresaw that too many men and too much money would be expended; (b) that a distant battle fought with ships as a base of operations would be foolish; and (c) that the army was utterly inexperienced in sea warfare.[32]

It is therefore not hard to understand why the government did not want to send a naval expedition to Africa in 462. Aspar had probably weighed the strategic advantages and disadvantages and decided it would not be in the empire's interests, knowing more than any other general what such an expedition would entail.

He remained constant in his caution, probably resisting personally the the idea of a similar expedition in 468, to the point where Leo put his brother-in-law Basiliscus in charge of the force. (One can presume that Aspar could have had the command if he wanted it.) The sources, almost all much later, confine themselves to a bewilderingly contradictory conglomeration of allegations against Aspar (a jealous intriguer) and Basiliscus (duped by the Vandals), who captained a disaster. The most plausible of these is the no-fault analysis of Candidus, who ascribes the wreck of the expedition to *for-*

30. Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 30,* in *FHG,* IV, 104-5; Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum,* 1. 5. 6-7; *Chronicon Paschale,* p. 592; Malalas, p. 368; Courtois, *Vandales,* p. 200; and F. Clover, "Geiseric the Statesman: A Study of Vandal Foreign Policy," Diss. University of Chicago 1966, p. 188.

31. Vernadsky, pp. 48-49, alleges that Aspar was bound by promises made by Marcian to Geiseric in 431. Ensslin, "Leo," 1955, styles Aspar as *offenkundiger Vandalenfreund;* and Stein, I, 387, seems to agree. Bachrach, pp. 46-48, supposes a "community of interest" between Aspar and Geiseric (King of Vandals and Alans). More plausibly, Kaegi, p. 55, argues that Aspar was afraid of losing more power at Constantinople through another Vandal defeat.

32. Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum,* 1. 10. 1-17.

tune.[33] Procopius, perhaps reflecting various traditions in currency in the sixth century, says that Basiliscus allied with Aspar, who was inimical to Leo and sought to weaken him by counselling Basiliscus to lose, but also the last named was bribed and then that he erred in judgment.[34]

A number of other sources, much later and without much respectability, suggest that Aspar's supposed barbarian affinities or Arian heresy shared with Geiseric had something to do with the Roman defeat. To do this, Theophanes, the earliest of them, must ignore the contemporary Priscus, whom he has just cited, and go on to gossip that "some say that Aspar and Ardaburius, being Arians," etc., plotted against the emperor and arranged that Basiliscus would betray the fleet to Geiseric, who was also an Arian.[35] The notion of Arian conspiracies in international politics of this period apparently troubled some later Byzantine and recent historians far more than it did the fifth-century commentators, however, and need not detain us here.[36]

Aspar and Ecclesiastical Controversy

In the fifth century Christological controversies through the period of the Council of Chalcedon (451), the eastern *magistri militum* seem first and foremost on guard against threats to state security, namely trouble without and trouble within. And trouble there had been in the East since Ephesus of 431, Eutychianism in the later reign of Theodosius II, and the recurrence of Monophysitism in the wake of Chalcedon and on through the century. Each succeeding council was either a victory for one contentious party or a standoff compromise. Broadly speaking, the *magistri* seem to have backed and enforced moderation and compromise in the churches, where possible and not in discord with the imperial will. A study of Aspar's approach to *Kirchenpolitik* may explain why.

Under the aegis of the orthodox Marcian, the Council of Chalcedon solved the long-range problem of these controversies, the divine vs. the human nature of Christ, by establishing the formula "a single Person in two Natures."[37] This solution was a political catastrophe.[38] Ecclesiastical parties

33. Candidus Isaurus, *Fragmenta 1.*

34. Procopius, *Bellum Vandalicum,* 1. 6. 2-4, 14 and 16. Priscus of Panium, *Fragmenta 42,* also says Basiliscus was bribed by the Vandals.

35. Theophanes, pp. 115-16; also, Cedrenus, I, 613; Zonaras, III, 126; Nikephorus Kallistos Xanthopulos, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series graeco-latina,* CXLVII, col. 15. 27; Ensslin, "Leo," 1954-55; Courtois, *Vandales,* pp. 201-3.

36. Barker, I, 426, indulges in some fancy about an "Arian conspiracy" among Aspar, Ricimer, and Geiseric.

37. This was similar to the doctrine established under Constantine at Nicaea, and corresponded to the position of Rome in all this; see, L. M. O. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church, from its Foundations to the End of the Fifth Century,* 4 vols. (London, 1909-24), III, 308.

38. R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London, 1953), p. 254.

at Alexandria and Antioch were to come to bloody blows, while the government attempted to maintain the official line. Aspar was instrumental in much government policy, of course, so one must ask what his role in all this was; and is it significant that he was a heretic?

Once before Chalcedon Aspar had intervened in the ecclesiastical sector. The government of Theodosius II had put the moderate but outspoken bishop of Cyrus, Theodoret, under house arrest as a Nestorian, the particular bugbear of the Eutychians in the 440s. Well before Marcian decided to call a new council, Aspar had apparently decided that Theodoret's detention was an unnecessary legacy of the regime of Theodosius. On his say, the new government released the bishop from exile. Apologizing that he felt it would be wrong not to thank him, Theodoret went on in a letter to Aspar to ask him to importune Marcian and Pulcheria to call a new council—of bishops who were peaceable in disposition, clearly an appeal to the sensibilities of a general who would prefer peace to civil war behind his armies.[39] In short, Aspar struck a line in ecclesiastical politics which was essentially nonfactional, which promoted the release of a strong-principled bishop who was never subversive to the imperial peace, but had a long record of attempting to promote harmony in the churches and was popular too.[40]

In 457, the new government was confronted with a resurgence of Monophysitism in Alexandria. Standard repressive measures were taken using local forces to restore law and order, but the partisans of Timothy Aelurus, the Monophysite, were able nevertheless to murder the Chalcedonic Proterius. Pope Leo began to pressure Constantinople to hold the line.[41] The Emperor Leo's position is easier to understand if we appreciate that he was surrounded by contending factions with an undynamic patriarch, Anatolius, at his side and a genuine desire to arrive at an equitable solution for all. He knew furthermore, as Aspar did, that Timothy was popular among all classes of Alexandrian society.[42]

Pope Leo wrote both Aspar and the emperor that he hoped or expected that the Patrician would aid the government in maintaining the orthodox faith.[43] (Modern scholars obsessed with the fact of Aspar's Arianism are

39. Theodoret, *Epistulae* 139.

40. On Theodoret, see Duchesne, III, 219-70, dealing with Nestorius and his adherents, and pp. 271-96, Theodoret vs. the Eutychians. Duchesne, who obviously assumes Aspar would naturally impede orthodoxy (e.g., see p. 331), ignores the circumstances of the bishop's release.

41. Best surveys of this ecclesiastical conflict are Duchesne, III, 331-34; and B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A. D. 461,* 3 vols. (Oxford, 1922), III, 403, with sources cited.

42. Evagrius, 2. 9, *Scriptores ecclesiastici minores saeculorum iv. v. vi* (Wien-Leipzig, 1904-): Timothy was wanted by the people of Alexandria, their dignitaries, senators, and shipmasters, as bishop.

43. Leo, *Epistulae 153.*

hard pressed here to explain how he could be influential in religious affairs at all, not to mention why he would support orthodoxy.)[44] Finally, the Emperor Leo dispatched a circular letter in the summer of 457 to all metropolitans and certain other important churchmen, asking: first, whether the Council of Chalcedon should be upheld; and secondly, what should be done about the forceable consecration of Timothy? [45]

All but one returned answers affirming Chalcedon, while even the renegade on Chalcedon, Amphilochius of Side, agreed that Timothy should be expelled.[46] The imperial government decided to expel Timothy and discipline Amphilochius. Judging undoubtedly that matters had gone far enough toward chaos, Aspar decided to intervene on behalf of *each*. In the case of Amphilochius, according to the Syriac version of the contemporary Zachariah, bishop of Mytilene: "Aspar, who was a general at that time, although he was an Arian, pleaded and begged for him that a priest who spoke the truth should not be exposed to danger. And thus indeed Amphilochius was delivered from danger."[47] Thus Aspar defended a man of sufficiently independent judgement to condemn what he felt to be excesses in each camp.

Gennadius, Anatolius' successor as archbishop in 458, moved to discipline Timothy according to the judgement of the bishops. Aspar opposed this too and for it he is frequently regarded in modern scholarship as motivated by his Arianism, either as *Glaubensgenosse (sic)* to the Monophysite or just to obstruct the orthodox government line.[48]

There is the merest shred of evidence that Aspar's Arianism could have influenced his policy on Timothy and it is not, in any case, directly from a contemporary source. When Gennadius made his move, "Aspar as a heretic anxiously sought otherwise," according to the seventh-century epitomizer of Theodore Lector's church history.[49] The orthodox Theophanes picked this

44. Vernadsky, p. 57, citing his own assumption on p. 55 as fact that Aspar would not be sympathetic to a new council dominated by orthodox factions, then presumes he would thus ignore Leo's letter.

45. *Sacrorum Concilorum nove, et amplissima collectio,* ed. J. D. Mansi, 31 vols. (Firenze, 1759-98), VII, 523 ff.; Ensslin, "Leo," 1948; Duchesne, III, 334; and Kidd, III, 404-05.

46. Kidd, III, 404-05

47. Zachariah of Mytilene 4. 7, most accessible in F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, eds., *The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mytilene* (London, 1899).

48. Ensslin, "Leo," 1949. E. Schwartz, "Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianische Schisma," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abt.*, N. F. 10 (1934), 1-304, at 177-78, states rather incautiously that Aspar obstructed the faith because he was Arian–not because he was in doctrinal conflict, but in order to weaken the church establishment.

49. Theodore Lector, in *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte,* ed. G. C. Hansen, Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (Berlin, 1971), p. 106, from the *Exc. Vatoped.* manuscript in Russia, heretofore not readily accessible in the West.

up in the next century and rendered it: "Aspar the Arian opposed him."[50] Theophanes cannot be presumed to have had special knowledge of Aspar's motives beyond what he learned in the epitome, and he himself habitually mentions Arianism in irrelevant circumstances as a cardinal evil.

Our sole source for Arianism as a motive in Aspar's church policy then is an epitome written several centuries after Theodore composed his history. Even if the phrase "because he was a heretic" could have appeared in the history itself, would it not have been natural for Theodore to *assume* that Aspar's opposition to the orthodox archbishop stemmed from his own heresy?

In some ways our perspective here is better than it might have been in the early Byzantine period. We know that Aspar was Arian, but also that Arianism counted for little as a real heresy by this time, and yet the evil Arian lingered on.[51] We know, as A. H. M. Jones said, "it is likely that the Germanic tribes clung to Arianism rather because it was their tribal cult, than from any intellectual conviction of its truth."[52] We know, furthermore, that Aspar and his family treasured their social position in Constantinople, and that there is not any significant authority to suggest they felt alienated because of bloodline or religion.

There is no doubt that he defended Timothy Aelurus, but he did it for the reason which motivated him continuously throughout his career: security of state. He knew how popular Timothy was in Alexandria and elsewhere, and he hesitated to annoy this sector of the empire needlessly. For everyone knew that a disgruntled Egyptian church could endanger, among other things, the grain supply to Constantinople, already threatened by Vandal attacks on Rhodes and elsewhere in the Mediterranean.[53]

One suspects that the fate of the Ardaburii evolved into a standard Byzantine object lesson in a few generations, punctuated by epithets of barbarianism and heresy. Yet, reviewing the sources on Aspar, we cannot help but suppose the prominent fifth-century barbarian *magistri militum* so frequently maligned were probably just energetic soldier-statesmen, a little over-worked and unimaginative in the responsibilities which devolved to them by default of others, no less ambitious than most political leaders nor more ruthless than soldiers can be, but aiming primarily just to do their jobs well.

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50. Theophanes, pp. 111-12. On the use of the epitome, see Hansen, p. xxix.

51, Duchesne, III, 27: by the late fourth century, "the Arian party was gradually becoming part of the history of the past." H. M. Gwatkin, "Arianism," in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, I, 142: after 383 "Arianism soon ceased to be a religion in the civilized world."

52. Jones, p. 965.

53. Theophanes. pp. 106-07. On the threat of piracy around Rhodes, especially to grain transportation, see Thompson, *Attila*, p. 78. J. L. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13 (1959), 87-139, does not deal with the problem in the fifth century, unfortunately.

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NOTE

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Anti-Germanism in the Age of Stilicho

In her study of the Late Roman Empire, Emilienne Demougeot attempted to prove that the critical period for the seperation between East and West occurred between the years 395 and 410. Her argument has met with general approval.[1] Although the empire was not really united again under one emperor after this period, Jones correctly cautions that too much can be made of this. The Roman Empire had only rarely been united under one emperor from the time of Diocletian.[2] In 423 on the occasion of the death of Honorius, Theodosius II tried briefly to rule the entire empire from Constantinople.[3] Furthermore during the struggle with the Vandals in North Africa during the fifth century, the East on several occasions sent naval expeditions to help the West in spite of the serious situation on the Danubian frontier.[4] Finally, Justinian's effort in the sixth century to reconquer the West was largely inspired by the belief that imperial unity was unbroken.[5] In view of these facts the question of imperial unity from 395 to 410 needs to be restudied.

This article focuses on what is perhaps the most crucial part of Demougeot's argument. She believes that the anti-German government of Aurelian and Anthemius, which came to power in Constantinople in 401, marked a significant step in the deterioration of good relations between East and West. Demougeot described the new government as a Panhellenion and attributed to it nationalist and secessionist sentiments.[6] If such attitudes were widespread among the ruling aristocracy, the chances for a recovery of the former unity would certainly be seriously impaired. The purpose of this essay is to examine more carefully the intellectual principles guiding the Eastern government during this period and to determine to what extent, if any, they caused dissension with Stilicho and the Western government.

1. See, for example, S. I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta, A Biographical Essay* (Chicago, 1968), p. 180, n. 40.

2. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire (284-602), A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1964), I, 182.

3. H. Dannenbauer, *Die Entstehung Europas von der Spätantike zum Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1959), I, 206-07.

4. Jones, I, *passim*.

5. Dannenbauer, I, 322.

6. E. Demougeot, *De l'unité à la division de l'Empire romain, 395-410, Essai sur le gouvernement impérial* (Paris, 1951), pp. 235-36.

The article then turns to consider the attitude prevailing in the West with regard to the same matters to see if it really differed from Eastern opinion.

Demougeot has abstracted from the writings of Themistius and Synesius certain principles which she believes were guiding the new government after the overthrow of Eutropius.[7] These principles are as follows. The state must be led by a benevolent monarch whose government is based on the rule of reason and has for its purpose the well-being of his subjects. He should be a servant of God, motivated by the central virtue of *philanthropia*, and respecting freedom of conscience and the rights of man. He should consult with and respect the opinion of the Senate, and endeavor to promote the diffusion of philosophy. He ought also to be an unrelenting opponent of barbarians and especially of their use in the army.

The fusion of the ideas of these two writers is somewhat arbitrary. Themistius was a fourth-century orator.[8] Although he was a prominent intellectual, there is no evidence whatever that his ideas had a direct influence on the Eastern government of Synesius' day, nor does Demougeot give any reason for thinking that his writings had such an effect.

Themistius moreover was not, as one might assume from his being classed together with Synesius, an uncompromising opponent of barbarians. The barbarian Persians and Scythians did not, it is true, possess *philanthropia* which for him was the synthesis of all other virtues.[9] But as an imperial panegyrist Themistius had to justify government policy in some of his speeches. After Valens' treaty of 369 with Athanaric, Themistius praised the emperor for sparing the Visigoths rather than annihilating them, by rationalizing that Valens now had an additional people who could become the object of his *philanthropia*.[10] Themistius had to go much further though to justify the treaty Theodosius concluded with the Visigoths in 382 since this agreement took the unprecedented step of settling an entire barbarian tribe within the empire with the status of *foederati*. Themistius continues to maintain that the addition of barbarians offers wider scope for imperial *philanthropia*. But he now claims that the barbarians can be completely assimilated by the empire, and even serve with the Romans in future military campaigns.[11] Themistius compares the Visigoths to the barbarian Galatians who had been incorporated into the Roman Empire centuries before and gradually civilized. There is no true parallel, of course, since the Galatians, unlike the Visigoths, were defeated and subjugated by the Romans.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-44.
8. Jones, I, 115
9. J. Vogt, "Kulturwelt und Barbaren. Zum Menschenheitsbild der spatantiken Gesellschaft," *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* (1967), 18-19.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-23.

But Themistius adopts this convenient analogy to disguise his changing attitude towards the barbarians.

Themistius therefore can hardly be described as an unflagging opponent of barbarians and their use in the Roman army. His thinking on the subject, or at least his public pronouncements, underwent a gradual evolution. By the reign of Valens he had come to desire an accomodation with the barbarians. By the end of his life he professed to see the value to be derived from barbarians settled within Roman boundaries and ready to aid the empire militarily. A resolutely anti-German government would scarcely have turned to Themistius' speeches as a source of inspiration for its policies.

Synesius is a much more valuable source for thinking in government circles, not only as a contemporary but as an acquaintance, if only a casual one, of several influential persons in Constantinople.[12] Although Demougeot does not say so, I gather that she had borrowed the term Panhellenion from a letter of Synesius.[13] Synesius states that this is the name he himself has given to an informal group of friends who discussed philosophy together while he was in Constantinople. From this statement it should be obvious that the term has no political connotations. In fact it is almost certain that Anthemius could not have belonged to this association. Although a few of Synesius' letters are addressed to Aurelian, none are addressed to Anthemius.[14] On the contrary, Synesius had to ask Troilus to use his influence with Anthemius to improve conditions in Libya.[15] Consequently we must be cautious before too readily ascribing Synesius' opinions to those in power at Constantinople.

The source of Synesius' political thought is the *De Regno*, an oration delivered before Arcadius probably in 400. In this speech Synesius exhorts the emperor, *inter alia*, to remove barbarians from the Roman army. Was this speech really important either in forming or reflecting the attitude of a group soon to come to power in Constantinople? It must be doubted that it was–since the speech, in spite of its bluntness, has few original ideas. Most of Synesius' ideas are drawn from Dio of Prusa.[16] Since Dio's time the content of such speeches had become a rhetorical commonplace. The format of these orations had become so common that we find Claudian delivering

12. For Synesius' political connections in Constantinople, see Georg Grützmacher, *Synesios von Kyrene, ein Charakterbild aus dem Untergang des Hellentums* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 61-65.

13. Synesius, *Epistulae,* in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris, 1857-66), LXVI, col. 101.

14. *Ibid.*, cols. 31, 34, and 38.

15. *Ibid.*, col. 73. Cf. also *ibid.*, col. 118.

16. *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene, Including the Address to the Emperor Arcadius and the Political Speeches,* trans. A. Fitzgerald, 2 vols. (Oxford and London, 1930), I, 183-210.

his own *De Regno* in Latin to Honorius.[17] So pronounced are the similarities between Synesius and Claudian that erroneous theories have been advanced that one borrowed from the other.[18] Failure to realize that both works are conventional speeches in a common tradition is responsible for this confusion. When Stilicho's propagandist is expressing the same sentiments as Synesius, it is mistaken to see in them the seeds of Eastern nationalism.

In his *De Regno* Claudian calls upon Honorius to personally lead his armies into battle and to endure the same physical hardships of a campaign as common soldiers must. This might appear to be an impolite reproach to address to someone like Honorius. Cameron points out, however, that there was no danger of giving offense. Because of the conventional nature of the oration no one was expected to take the advice seriously. This fact should lead to caution in interpreting Synesius' *De Regno.* Synesius too urges the emperor to take an active military role and points out that the Roman Empire was at its zenith when its emperors were true military leaders. Synesius was not really trying to lecture the emperor any more than Claudian was. It was simply a standard expression in this type of speech. Attempts to find in Synesius' *De Regno* a coherent political philosophy held by the anti-German government in Constantinople are therefore mistaken. The rhetorical tradition in which Synesius was schooled, not the circle of Aurelian and Anthemius, was the true origin of many of the ideas expressed in the *De Regno.*

There is one subject in the *De Regno*, however, which is new, and which is not found in Claudian: uncompromising opposition to the use of barbarians in the army.[19] Synesius advocates a return to a citizen army. Since this is the one novel feature of Synesius' address, he is probably reflecting the attitude of his friends who were soon to come to power. But this deduction only confirms what a study of events of the period shows: fear of barbarians was widespread among the aristocracy. Synesius says nothing in the *De Regno* that can be interpreted as Eastern nationalism.

Synesius was not even completely consistent in his attitude to barbarians. When he was later involved in a frustrating guerilla war with the Ausurians in Libya, he has high praise for the effectiveness of Hun mercenaries. He says they are much better than the regular troops and asks the government for more of them.[20] Synesius had probably not changed his mind all that much, for he later repeats his opposition to barbarians in the army—though

17. Claudian, *de quarto consulatii Honorii,* in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum,* ed. T. Mommsen, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1877-1919), X, 212-52.

18. A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 321-23 and 326-27.

19. C. Lacombrade, *Synésios de Cyrène, hellène et chrétien* (Paris, 1951), p. 87.

20. Synesius, col. 78.

in a much more restrained way.[21] But Synesius' principles were forced to yield to the realities of the military situation in Libya. This inconsistency shows that Synesius' position on the barbarians was not rigid and suggests that his associates in Constantinople might also have to yield if the circumstances called for it.

The only clearly defined position then that can be confidently assigned to the Eastern government on the basis of the writings of Themistius and Synesius is anti-Germanism. Since most of the other ideas were common currency and were even expounded by Claudian, they could hardly be the basis for a Panhellenion. There is even less reason for seeing in them evidence of nationalism or secessionism.

Nevertheless this anti-German sentiment might have been strong enough in itself to become a source of friction or even division if it was a truly Eastern phenomenon. But Demougeot herself concedes that an echo of the Eastern hostility to barbarians existed among the old Roman aristocracy.[22] Now the opposition to barbarians would obviously be muted in the West as long as Stilicho was in power. But was it merely an echo or was it in fact just as widespread as in the East but unable to make itself felt at Ravenna as long as Stilicho was alive?

Any criticism of Germans in the army or government would have to remain private, of course, as long as Stilicho controlled the West. This could give the misleading impression either that there was none or that it was insignificant. But a careful examination of the poetry of Claudian supplies indirect evidence that a strong current of hostility to barbarians was just beneath the surface.

Among the many accusations that Claudian hurls against Rufinus is the charge of collaborating with the barbarians.[23] Although the charge is an absurdity, Claudian must have felt that it was worthwhile to include this slander in addressing a Western audience. Many in the West were equally agitated at the success of the barbarians and looked for a scapegoat. It suited Claudian's purpose just then to fasten the blame on Rufinus. But Claudian would have included this item only if he knew that he had a chance for a receptive audience. Many in the West then must have been concerned about the barbarian menace—even though the West had so far been spared invasion.

An even more interesting conclusion may be drawn from a careful reading of Claudian's comment on the campaign against the Bastarnae in 392. Claudian says that Rufinus aided the Bastarnae and prevented Stilicho from defeating them be deceiving Theodosius.[24] Claudian's motive here cannot be simply

21. *Ibid.*, col. 95.
22. Demougeot, pp. 370-97.
23. Claudian, *in Rufinum,* in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum,* X, 2.61-85.
24. *Ibid.*, X, 1.308-22.

to abuse Rufinus, for he repeats the charge years later when the episode was as good as forgotten.[25] His purpose is rather to deflect from Theodosius (and Stilicho who conduced negotiations with the Bastarnae) to Rufinus a policy regarded as philo-barbarism. Theodosius preferred to negotiate with barbarians rather than risk a battle in the hope of using them to aid the Roman army. Evidently this policy was not popular in the West.

Since Stilicho adopted essentially the same policy, Claudian has to defend the actions of his patron who made frequent use of barbarian auxiliaries. Whenever he mentions the enrollment of barbarians in the army, Claudian writes as if it were the obvious course of action: apart from its military advantages, it brought barbarians into the service of the empire.[26] The barbarians are invariably represented as loyally imploring Honorius or Stilicho to accept them as auxiliaries. Claudian stresses this theme to counter the misgivings that his listeners would have had. After the revolts of the Visigoths in the Balkans and the Ostrogoths in Phrygia, many in the West must have questioned the wisdom of Stilicho's policy. So Claudian repeatedly emphasizes the loyalty of the barbarians in the hope of quieting opposition to Stilicho's use of them.

Another method Claudian uses to justify barbarian enrollment is to point out that Rome will always win when barbarian is set against barbarian.[27] Stilicho sent his barbarian auxiliaries forward at critical stages in the battle of Verona. Stilicho was indifferent to their fate, according to Claudian, because barbarians would be slaughtered on one side or the other to the advantage of the Romans. Claudian portrays Stilicho's use of barbarian auxiliaries as a crafty way of killing barbarians while saving Roman lives. The poet recognized that opposition to Stilicho's policy was widespread, and this passage was designed to blunt such criticism by showing the advantage to the Roman Empire of the use of barbarian auxiliaries.

By the frequent comments intended to justify Stilicho's use of barbarians, Claudian's poetry points to the fact that the unpopularity of barbarians in the army was not by any means an exclusively Eastern phenomenon. He indirectly reveals that there was strong anti-Germanism in the West. Even though it was in a sense submerged, it was not a mere echo but a force strong enough for Stilicho and his propagandist to feel the need to refute it. Stilicho therefore and not a difference in ideology between East and West was the true barrier to imperial unity in the first decade of the fifth century.

Events surrounding the fall of Stilicho confirm the preceding argument that anti-Germanism was an equally powerful force in the West. The govern-

25. *Idem, de consulatu Stilichonis, ibid.*, X, 1.109-15.

26. *Idem, in Eutropium, ibid.*, X, 1.382-83; *idem, de quarto consulatu Honorii, ibid.*, X, 484-85; and *idem, de bello Gildonico*, X, 242-44.

27. *Idem, de sexto consulatu Honorii, ibid.*, X, 218-22.

ment that succeeded Stilicho was violently anti-German. Even before Stilicho's death this group carried out a surprise massacre of his associates.[28] Hatred for Stilicho's barbarian soldiers ran so high that the Roman soldiers massacred the wives and children of the barbarians stationed in various Italian towns.[29] The strength of anti-German sentiment is also shown in the persistent slander that Stilicho had favored or even caused the barbarian invasions.[30] The Western government itself adopted this line in a law promulgated only three months after Stilicho's death.[31]

Since Stilicho had been the only obstacle to a rapproachement between the two governments, it is not surprising that Anthemius sent military help to the beleaguered Western government.[32] This is not the sort of behavior that one would expect of a nationalist or secessionist government. In fact there is no evidence to indicate that the Eastern government ever had these tendencies.

28. Zosimus, *Epistulae,* in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina,* ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), XX, 5.32.

29, *Ibid.*,XX, 5. 35. 5.

30. Orosius, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII,* ed. C Zangemeister, Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum Teuberiana (Leipzig, 1889), 7. 37. 1, 7. 38. 2-5, and 7. 40 3. Cf. Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica,* in *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca,* ed. J. P. Migne, 165 vols. (Paris, 1857-86), LXV, 12.2; Marcellinus Comes, *Chronicon ad a. DXVIII. . . ,* in *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum,* XI, 401. 1; and Jordanes, *Getica, ibid.,* V, 115.

31. *Codex Theodosianus,* ed. T. Mommsen (Berlin, 1905), 9. 42. 22.

32. Zosimus, 6. 8. 2.

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TRANSLATION/TRADUCTION

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Medieval European Society as Seen in Two Eleventh-Century Texts of Michael Psellos

The two eleventh-century texts, "A Funeral Oration..." and "The Affiancing of Underage Children and the Court Case against Elpidios Kenchris,"[1] are revealing not only of the medieval upper-class society, but also of the author Michael Psellos himself, along with his expressed attitudes towards existing conditions and evils in eleventh-century Constantinople. Furthermore, these compositions provide us with a wealth of information about the Byzantine capital, its dominant social classes, and its cultural environment. Indeed, it might be said that the eleventh century had no better, keener, or more interesting commentator than Michael Psellos.

While Psellos's writings span a large and varied number of topics, they reveal his concern with Byzantine society and its problems.[2] This is seen not only in the two texts examined hereafter in Parts I and II, but also in his monodies and elegies, in his letters, and in his teaching and preoccupation with learning and philosophy. Concerning the domains of learning and philosophy, he wrote: "I greedily devoured [them] in my mind, and having collected this knowledge, I begrudged no one a share of what I myself had acquired at the cost of much labor. Everyone was welcome to learn from me; and far from demanding a fee[3] for my lessons, I was prepared to help capable students with money from my own purse...."[4]

A number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars, among them: C.

1. In K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη. *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi,* 7 vols. (Venezia and Paris, 1872-94), V, 62-87 and 203-12.

2. Indeed, it cannot be assumed in the strict sense that Michael Psellos was a social reformer, yet his teachings and writings show a concern for society–its outlook and problems.

3. In spite of what he has stated explicitly and followed in his teachings, he has been identified as a Sophist, probably because of his preoccupation with philosophy and rhetoric and not in the sense that he "sold knowledge." See the satirical dialogue, Τιμαρίων, a work of late eleventh or the early twelfth century and of unknown authorship. Some scholars have attempted to establish its authorship. See Pseudo-Luciano, *Timarione,* testo critico, introduzione, traduzione, commentario e lessico, a cura di Roberto Romano, Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana, 2, Napoli, 1974.

4. The historical work, χρονογραφία, will be cited hereafter as *Chronographia.* See further Sathas, VI, 43 and 44.

Sathas, A. Vogt, R. Guilland, P. Lemerle, A. L. Molinghen, and others, have been interested in and have commented upon the two texts examined hereafter. In view of the details contained in the second of these texts and of the interpretations differing in various particulars, a controversy has resulted. These matters are taken up in Part III, and also are discussed in the footnotes.

PART I

A FAMILY TRAGEDY IN ELEVENTH CENTURY CONSTANTINOPLE[5]

Intoduction to the Text

Out of an atmosphere filled with tears, sighs and infinite regrets, there issues an idealized sketch of a young girl (for it is scarcely a portrait, since it is highly subjective, obscured by grief and weighed down by a mass of emotions), mixed with various intellectual, literary and other influences, not clearly drawn nor easy to ascertain.[6] One finds in this composition that has come down to us, the delineation of a nine- or ten-year-old maiden named Styliani, who passed away "prior to her time of marriage." At the same time the author, in his grief, produced an idealized sketch of his daughter, adorning her with Platonic and Christian virtues of modesty, beauty, along with temperance and goodness, who was "...evolving towards Perfection...."[7]

Among the compositions of Michael Psellos[8] with their wealth of information about the eleventh-century Byzantine upper-class society, there are a number of funeral orations, monodies and encomia. Some were composed for patriarchs of Constantinople, others were dedicated to friends or to former teachers, and some were written for members of his own family. It is amid these latter that one finds an encomion for his mother Theodote and an epitaph[9] for his daughter [Styliani]. In these two compositions, in an historical work and elsewhere, Michael Psellos had given us descriptions of several contemporary women.[10] In the encomion for his mother, Psellos tells us about her qualities, character and the important role she played in her son's education. It is curious to note that the details supplied in the same composition about his father are, as if in comparison, more vivid. The father, whose name is not given, was"tall like a cypress tree; and his eyes glowed with a

5. The name "Stiliani" does not appear in the manuscript, nor does Sathas tell us where he found it.

6. No additional information about her is apparently available.

7. Such Platonic and other philosophic elements abound in the writings of Michael Psellos.

8. See my forthcoming study, "A bibliography of works attributed to Michael Psellos."

9. See further p. 82 ff.

10. Psellos' description of women in his family and society find their ultimate development in his sketch of the maiden Styliani. See p. 83 ff.

warm, affectionate light. If one were to judge from his features he would not be wrong in saying that he had a goodness of heart...." Psellos also mentions that his father was very sensitive and deeply affected by emotions... I know these things from my own self...." Psellos notes as well that his father had married when very young, probably when he was fifteen or sixteen years old; and that he issued from a noble family, but has lost his fortune and social standing. The father is also described as a person without affectation, and that anyone could approach and speak with him easily, without apprehension. "He was unassuming [in his ways], courageous and manly...." Psellos adds that his father was a calm person, nor would he ever get angry; he was easy-going and pleasant to be with. Although the father spoke with a particular charm, "...he was not quick with words...."[11] In his own commercial affairs, however, we are told that he was dynamic and acted on his own initiative.[12] Then, concluding, Psellos added: "...he was pleasant to all and loved his family greatly...."

Since the description of Styliani forms an important and intersting section of the first text, it might be well to examine some of Michael Psellos's earlier delineations of other contemporary women. In the *Chronographia,* he describes two empresses: Zoe and Theodora, who briefly ruled together in 1042. In book VI Psellos wrote: "The elder [Zoe] was naturally more plump [than her sister] ... her eyes were large, set wide apart with imposing eyebrows. Her nose was inclined to be aquiline without being so altogether and she had golden hair, while her whole body was radiant with the whiteness of her skin. [Indeed] there were few signs of age in her; in fact, if you noted her well and the harmony of her limbs without knowing who she was, you would have thought: there is a young woman. For no part of her skin was wrinkled, but all was taught with no furrows anywhere...." Then referring to Zoe's husband the Emperor Romanos III Argyropoulos[13] (1028-34), Psellos wrote: "...Romanos [who was of an advanced age] believed he would reign for many years, and leave behind him a family to inherit the throne for several generations. Obviously it did not occur to him that Constantine's [i.e., Constantine VIII of the Macedonian dynasty] daughter, with whom he lived after his acclamation, was too old to conceive and already barren [Zoe was fifty when she married Romanos III] while he was twenty years older than her. Yet he ignored the physical prerequisites for conception ... and submitted himself to treatment of ointments and massage. He also had his wife do the same. In fact she went further ... had herself introduced to [various] magical practices like the

11. Probably the verb ψελλίζειν, i.e., to utter words with difficulty when in a state of emotional stress, had some relation; or, was applied to an ancestor because of a speech difficulty.

12. In the family and household, it appears that the mother Theodote had the final word.

13. See below fn. 32.

fastening of tiny pebbles around her body and the wearing of chains; or she would hang charms about her and deck herself up with other nonsense...."

As to Theodora (Zoe's sister), whom Psellos knew personally, he wrote comparing the appearances and characteristics of the two princesses: "...Theodora on the other hand was taller, more taper in form [while] her head was small and out of proportion with the rest of her body. She was however more ready with her tongue than Zoe ... and quicker in her movements. There was nothing stern in her glance, for on the contrary she was cheerful, smiling and eager to find an opportunity for conversation...."

Of another woman, named Sklerena[14] (the mistress of Constantine IX), Psellos wrote: "...in appearance she was not especially remarkable ... [yet] her character and intellectual ability ... could charm a heart of stone; and she was amazingly adept in her interpretations of any matter whatsoever ... her speech was wonderful ... and had a delicate beauty of expression, along with the rhythmic perfection of a scholar. There was in her conversation an unaffected sweetness of diction and an inexpressible grace in her manner of telling a story. She bewitched me ... no woman ever had a more sensitive ear; although I assume this was not a natural but an acquired characteristic since she knew that everyone [in the court] was talking about her..." It might be said, however, that these descriptions of Psellos', of women in the court, of his mother and others, when examined closely appear two-dimensional. Even those more detailed and perhaps more successful representations of men, leave much to be desired; and this is also the case with his sketch of the maiden Styliani.

All that is known about the pretty, talented young girl, emanates from her father's work ("funeral oration") whose text has come down to us from a twelfth-century Byzantine manuscript. The content, the internal organization of the work (also its length, philosophical reflections, the detailed descriptions of the girl's illness, and the telling of dreams she had seen on her sickbed), suggest that it was written after her death and burial. The composition is not actually a funeral oration,[15] but rather a lament or an eulogy of the maiden's appearance and her virtues prior to her illness. At the same time, it seems that Michael Psellos attempted to construct a "model" (an ideal) of a "perfect" Byzantine maiden.

Styliani may have been the only child of Psellos and his wife (I have been unable to establish her name); and while the text mentions Styliani's brothers, this seems to be only rhetorical. Then later in the text there is an notation that God had given them "...this only daughter." Along with other information about this attractive, modest and most decorous maiden

14. Her first name is not known. She was the sister of Bardas Skleros. See Sathas, VI, 49 and 60.

15. See below, p. 82 ff. and part III, F.

(*πανευπρεπεστάτη κόρη*) Styliani, it is also stated that she had inherited from her parents links with the Byzantine aristocracy and through her mother had "...imperial blood in her veins...."[16] Styliani also appears to have been a bright, attractive maiden developing towards womanhood. She was rather tall, well-proportioned, agile and graceful in her movements. Within the family environment she had retained a delightful innocence, while her character was warm and affable. The youngster loved her parents greatly and would share with them tenderness and her thoughts. At the same time, she had a deep sense of (Christian) charity, and spent a part of her time caring for the poor and the sick. It may have been that, accompanied by her mother, she would visit the ailing in one of the hospitals in Constantinople.[17] This detail is suggested by the lines of the text where Psellos had mentioned that Styliani aided the ailing. And following this line of thought, may it not be assumed that while carrying out those charitable concerns in one of the hospitals, Styliani contracted the illness which tormented and sent her off to an early grave?

Michael Psellos, when telling of the maiden's character, asks: "Who expressed so much love for the sacred ... the revered, hallowed and divine icons ... the glowing church tapers and the incense...." Further, he pointed out that while Styliani found joy in these matters and in the writings of the Church Fathers, she was also "...initiated in the craft of embroidery by her mother.... This art she learned very quickly and needed no other teacher; for she understood by nature what she had been taught, as if these things already preexisted in her mind[18] ... if we are to believe the most wise Plato who spoke of Learning as the 'memory of the soul.' " Then Psellos added: "After her infancy, she [Styliani] moved towards Perfection...."

The maiden's physical appearance, her dark-blonde hair parted in the middle and tied with two ribbons, her pretty face and jet-black eyes, her harmonious proportions and liveliness–these details form a striking, painful contrast to a later period in the composition when the delightful maiden was disfigured, silenced and destroyed by disease.

The composition of Michael Psellos consists of the following sections which have been molded into an artistic unity:

1. An introduction, or brief philosophic reflection,[19] in which the author explains "why" the work was composed.

16. See the Introduction to Sathas, V, where he mentions that the mother of Styliani issued from the Argyroi imperial family. See also Alice Leroy-Molinghen and Patricia Karlin-Hayter, "Basileopator," *Byzantion*, 38 (1968), 278-81.

17. See Greek text and English translation which follow the discussion. Also, L. Bréhier, *Le Monde byzantin*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1948-70), II, 524.

18. See above, fn. 7.

19. This and other philosophic reflections found in the two texts examined herein, and as well in his other writings, are a prominent feature of his works. In the first text, such reflections appear on pp. 10, 25, 30, and 36.

2. There follows a detailed description of the maiden Styliani, as she appeared prior to her fatal illness. Psellos also elaborates upon her family background, her infancy and early years. At the same time, her physical characteristics, virtues, intellectual and spiritual qualities are also described.
3. In this section that forms a striking contrast to the above (2), Psellos gives a long, detailed description of the disease caught by the maiden that disfigured her horribly and sent her off to the grave. He also furnishes a description of Byzantine funeral customs.
4. Two lamentations are included in this section. First, those present at the house during the maiden's illness and the moment of her death, lament together the grievous loss. Subsequently, the parents in despair bemoan the departure of their daughter.
5. There follows another philosophic reflection and also references to religion.
6. Psellos relates two dreams that had been seen by the ailing maiden. These dreams "foretold things that were to happen."
7. The closing section consists of another lamentation and a philosophical reflection, where the hope is expressed that Styliani may come to visit her parents in their dreams. But she is to appear as she was prior to her illness, thus comforting them in their great sorrow.

I

A Funeral Oration
Michael Psellos wrote for his daughter [Styliani] "who passed away prior to her time of marriage"

1.[20] Honoring a daughter [in this manner][21] I feel that I honor Truth, and in so doing, I pay tribute to human nature. This is a natural thing to do since Nature, prompted by Divine impulses, produces kinds that are pure and unmixed; similar to the prototype.[22] These have truth and simplicity, and reject all deviation and distortion, revealing thus the existences that are clear and natural. [Therefore] if one would seek to extoll these qualities existing in Nature, along with the small diversities found everywhere, he would not miss his goal.

20. The divisions which appear in texts I and II are my own and are established in order to analyze the compositions' inner structure. They are open to correction and improvement.

21. The English translations and other emendations which follow are my own. The use of ellipses in the Greek and English texts denotes the omission of words and phrases because they are repetitious or are paraphrasings of what has already been said. Although these omissions may have served to emphasize what was previously stated, in the translation they would only disturb the free flow of the narrative.

22. Here and elsewhere in his writings, Michael Psellos refers to "pure and unmixed forms" that pre-existed in Eternity. Text I incorporates a number of these and other Platonic notions.

It seems to me that one ought to examine what exists in the writings of ancient philosphers, [in order] to understand both Nature and Truth.[23] For these reasons, it seems proper to grant what belongs to one, and to distinguish the particular characteristics of the other, utilizing both in this present pursuit. This is indeed [necessary] for the listener[24] ... and for the impartial judge in these matters.

[Thus none] will misunderstand what we are presenting here ... honoring the Truth and being restricted by the bonds of Nature;[25] even though I fear I may discredit Nature and lessen her [importance] with my words. I am afraid at the same time that I may not be able to rise [above these matters] towards the Better. Nevertheless these hesitations of mine melt away because the following [discourse] will approach the Truth, and while Nature will be praised Truth will also reveal its greatness.[26]

2. Since in the beginning we spoke of a child, of whom one could not find [her equal] nor hear of anyone like her; for if experience and history judge, [it will be seen that] she was above all others, but let us look into the following: Yet, you need excuse the tears a little, since I am speaking of the death of my[27] child, my innards are turned upside-down d (*ἀναστρέφονται τὰ σπλάγχνα*) and my heart is torn to pieces. For I am shaken entirely, oppressed by her memory, and led on by sorrow; because there is no one who has a heart[28] of iron or harder than stone. Nor is it possible to turn to speculation when he is overwhelmed by sorrow. It is suitable therefore to speak of her in an appropriate manner ... and to begin the lamentation even if one is incapable of concording tears with pain. [In such an attempt] could the lamentations of Jeremiah[29] help us; even is it were possible to shed an endless flow of tears?
less flow of tears?

Yet since Nature prompts us to respond, and because a funeral oration[30] demands that we weep: we will then speak of the deceased as much as memory allows. We will speak of her family, her studies and upbringing; also about

23. The word employed in the text for *Truth* is *ἀθευδές*, i.e., veracious, and not the word *ἀλήθεια*.

24. The present work is referred to in the text by Psellos as an "oration"; and he felt that he was addressing a group of fellow mourners.

25. The reference here is to a father-child relationship.

26. Or it will be seen how great truth is(... *ἀλήθεια* ... *ἡλίκη*).

27. It will be noted in the text that Psellos passes from the first person singular (I, me, my) to the plural (we, us, ours). The latter refers to the Psellos couple. The first person singular is employed almost as many times as that of the plural, or fourteen to thirteen times respectively. The mother whose name is unknown is referred to in five places.

28. The actual word used in the text is *ψυχή*, i.e., *soul.*

29. A major prophet in the Old Testament, his "Lamentations" are mentioned later in the text.

30. Actually, the composition is referred to as a *δεσποτικός λόγος*, i.e., a formal, lofty discourse.

her docile character and her modesty. [Tell] how the child, with the gifts bestowed upon her by Nature, stood above all other maidens. [Yet] I will not speak as if extolling an offspring of mine; but show [rather] that what I am recounting here before everyone's eyes: is true....

She had inherited from her mother[31] much refinement (*τὸ εὐγενὲς πολύ*) for the child had imperial blood in her veins, since her ancestors were related to emperors[32] ... and it was after she had been weaned that the child revealed her origin. [During her early years] she would converse with her nurses and play with children of her own age (also with the housemaids).... Upon seeing her one would say that she was like a rose ... surpassing girls her own age in beauty. Her parents[33] were joyous at the sight of her and felt as if they had acquired an extraordinary offspring,[34] and they celebrated the event with her. Nor was it possible for anyone (upon seeing her) to become graceless. For both harmony and joy do not issue from artificial beauty.

She had been reared by a mother who loved modesty (*φιλόσεμνη*) and who concerned herself with propriety. Nor would she allow anything of a base nature to be imprinted on the child's tender temperament. Instead she sought in her upbringing from infancy on to guide her towards the higher virtues. If the result was not perfect, [the child] nevertheless succeeded in attaining perfection[35] through it. Because in the first place she was hindered by ...[36] and then she was also influenced by different adages, along with her mother's rearing. Her abilities, as they were formed and developed during her girlish years [inevitably] belonged to the imperfection of her age ... yet they were demure.

After infancy she advanced towards Perfection, while her good looks also increased with the years. She was radiant in her behavior and modesty, while at the same time she developed shyness. Then as nature imposed itself upon her more and more ... she developed honesty[37] while her mind kept evolving, becoming more solid and certain.

Faultlessness and Modesty were in her like stars, and a reflection of her inner self that developed gradually towards the better and kept rising upwards [to Perfection]. [In this she reminded one] of new-born sparrows that stay close to the ground since they have no feathers. But soon as they

31. This is the first notation in the text of Styliani's mother.

32. See Sathas, IV, xxxvii, where he mentions that Styliani's mother belonged to the Argyroi family, from which Romanos III Argyros (1028-34) issued.

33. This is the first mention of her parents as a unit.

34. It appears that Michael Psellos and his wife had acquired this one and only child late in their marriage.

35. Here and elsewhere in this text, Psellos refers to the Platonic Perfection, i.e., *τό τέλειον ... ἡ τελειότητα.*

36. There is a lacunae here and this exists also in the Sathas text.

37. Note that while the author is telling of her natural and physical developments, there is a shift to moral virtues.

acquire them they fly up high in the air and glide. In a like manner, after having trained in her early flights [the young girl] flew on to worldly ones where she was guided by its customs. For she was in-between youth and perfection ... and although she followed a middle road, she remained closer to Perfection. Yet, she would also approach the other [i.e., the imperfection of youth], for she secretly belonged to both.[38] Matters were such, and self-evident, as my own experience and her known accomplishments are witness.

She was six years old and had the gift of eloquence (speaking as she did) with facility and precise articulation (*απταίστως εἶχε τὴν προφοράν*) an ability found in few youngsters of that age.... [Psellos proudly lingers on the oratorical abilities of his daughter.] If [he pointed out] according to the prophet[39] "one spoke in many tongues," but would stammer when preaching Peace [the effort would be negative]. Yet she, after having left behind the idioms of childhood, could have spoken of Peace in a loud, clear voice. [In her studies] she learned primary letters and the arrangement of syllables along with the formation of words. Then she went on to study the 'Psalms of David' and while learning them she was able (through her ability) to form perfect speech.

You would have marvelled at my child's great talent (*μεγαλοφτιά*), her natural compliance and upbringing. [It was] because of these qualities that she was able to influence the ways of other children, leading them [upwards] from bad to Good. For she could not tolerate anything unbecoming to be imprinted on her thoughts. [At the same time] her love of learning was so intense that she eagerly sought out her teachers to enjoy further the honeyed delight found in the ... sacred writings.[40] Yet they [i.e., her teachers] seemed to feel a threat[41] and annoyance! But this excellent child was prompted only by her desire for learning and she had a natural inclination for it. [It was such that] she was first among her classmates,[42] and sought to enrich her knowledge in order to rise towards Excellence.[43]

[One might ask however] but did she have any experience or difficulty working the loom? [44] No! no one could say that; for she used her time well: devoting a portion to learning and the rest to weaving, thus occupying herself with both. The latter craft [of the loom] she learned very quickly, and without the passage of much time. While she also learned embroidery in the same

38. This is an interesting and fair judgment of Styliani's character.

39. The reference is to Isaiah.

40. I.e., *τῶν Θείων λόγων*.

41. The word appearing in the text is *μάστιξ*, i.e., a whip or scourge. The entire passage is unclear.

42. Whether the author is referring to a school in a general sense–a class of female pupils–is unknown.

43. Here again the author views the girl's learning and her intellectual development in Platonic terms.

44. I.e., *ἰστουργία*.

manner initiated in both these crafts by her mother....[45] She had no other teachers, for she understood by nature what she was being taught. It was as if these things had already been imprinted on her mind, if we are to believe the most wise Plato, who mentioned learning as the 'memory of the soul', and therefore no great effort was necessary [on her part]. She also learned how to spin and to make delicate fabrics whose designs were woven through with silk threads and joined together carefully by those ivory fingers. Who could admire them enough?

Who loved her parents[46] so very much, and was inseparable from them? Who respected and loved them greatly, and was loved in turn by them? I can tell you, for these matters[47] are known to me by experience. [The expressions of that affection were many, like] embracing, kissing and being together continuously. Also the laying on our bed, sitting on our knees, and the passing from one bosom to the other; while she would share [with us] the same emotions ... tastes, drinking vessels; and the desire to partake in whatever was offered and this because of her great affection for me.[48]

Do you suppose O listener[49] that she was attractive only in body and not in her soul? How could anyone imagine this? For it was not so! She would attend vespers readily, taking part in the doxology and in the chanting of hymns. Nor did she ever miss devotional services, participating and worshipping with joy. She would stand there quietly with deep emotion, expressing her reverence for all that was chanted, listening attentively and not letting any detail escape her. Then she would sing the Psalms of David along with the choir, also other devotional hymns ... in the worshipping of God....

Do you think that the maiden was interested only in Church liturgy, but would not attend the celebration of our Holy Feasts nor show any concern in these? Do you also suppose she attended the sacred Church rites: pure and uncontaminated, without piety and modesty; or without the propriety becoming women? And that she might do these things in order to adorn herself with graceful garments (*καλύμμασι ... εὐστόλως*) that are proper to a maiden? Could anyone take part in these sacred rites as she did, except in a pure and immaculate manner?

Could one find such a girl who devoted herself to sacred matters, going to chant the matins, taking part in the choir of psalmodists, and being considered as one of them? I do not think [one could find her equal] even if he could attain such graces, boast and compare them with her's. For indeed 'only the crows will be convinced';[50] but the crow [as in the myth] will soon

45. This is the third reference in this text to Stiliani's mother.
46. Again parents are mentioned as a unit.
47. The word used here is *τό ἀληθές*, i.e., reality.
48. Psellos returns now to the singular reference.
49. I.e., *ἀκροατά*, the audience that Psellos was supposedly addressing.
50. The reference is to a pretentious crow, told about in one of the stories of Aesop.

lose its [colorful] feathers and everything else that is foreign and acquired! It will then learn how different it is: to attain the highest virtues naturally, and this in comparison to one who puts on feathers and takes flight in a false and outlandish manner.

How was the girl brought up thereafter? Like a tender flower that arose from the earth and grew up gradually, revealing now its strength, then its fragility.[51] As this most decorous daughter grew ... her beauty also developed until she was nine, while her characteristics became more definite and moved towards Perfection.... These developments filled me with joy and the affection of a parent for his child grew warm and my delight was boundless ... became pronounced and provoked fatherly affection in me, and it was impossible for one to be indifferent and not feel the sense of love.[52] It would be best then to speak here about her beauty so that those listening[53] might know about her about her modesty and appearance attractive in the eyes of many.

Her head was fashioned by the Faultless Creator, not elongated, nor wide at both sides; nor with a very broad forehead. Because the first is Scythian and the other ill-formed, while both are unattractive. Instead he graced her with an oval head, and provided her with girlish graces and adornments. Her eyebrows were not too thin at the center, for then they would have been neither attractive nor beautiful ... they were very black and thus made more emphatic the whiteness of her brow.

Her eyes seemed like stars, with their ends extended yet without being round [but almond shaped]; they were black and a harmonious size. Where they were close to the nose they resembled buds ... incomparable in comeliness that had just opened. While her eyelids were like the skin of a pomegranite and guarded carefully the beauty of her eyes, while they, under that cover, gave off a maidenly light. The inside [of the eyes] shone with whiteness, while their pupils were jet-black and the two colors presented in their contrasting shades a matchless elegance.

Her nose had been shaped in a straight line, and was neither flat nor tilted upward excessively ... as it separated gracefully the two neighboring areas of her face. The nostrils shared the harmony of the other parts [of her head] and were neither wide nor narrow, but moderate. They functioned in a normal, healthy manner, and they were admired more than other known works of art.

The mouth too was symmetrical and modest with very red lips, but without imitating the broken pomegranate, for their redness was decorous. It

51. The word appearing in the text is *ἐνέργεια*, i.e., vigor or liveliness.

52. These expressions–*μή ἀπαθή τελεῖν καὶ ἀνέραστον*–and others further on can be variously interpreted, but have to be seen in the general context of all the happenings that prompted them.

53. See above, fn. 49, the supposed group of fellow mourners addressed by Psellos.

was like that often lauded by Solomon in his Psalms; while they spread widely her reputation....[54] When the maiden smiled her white teeth shined like luminous pearls.... They were all in order, crystal-like, or like jewels one wears across the breast. They were covered by the red shining lips, whose smile was a reflection of delight. Together the pearly whiteness [of her teeth] along with the redness formed a many-colored grace. At the same time her cheeks of tender, warm flesh were rounded, white, radiant and charming. She was like a rosebud, presenting to the beholder a sweet, insatiable beauty. So she appeared: evergreen, ever-flourishing like a rosebud without losing its leaves in the Fall or withering in Winter, while those who saw her admired the loveliness of natural flowers.

The head was placed on her neck with infinite care, so as not to disturb the beauty [of the entire body]; and it was neither too slim nor bony. It was like crystal and made with considerable craft, or like pieces of shiny ivory (like 'a tower of David in Thalfiof' as it is said in the Psalms ["Song of Songs," IV. 4], while the maiden's neck held her head high like a throne of feeling, of like a receptical of common sense beyond her youth.

What could one say about her hair, as it grew from the top of her head and fell down reaching her feet. It was as if it had sprouted from the well-watered fruitful earth, while her tresses like stalks of grain seemed to grow and blossom ... pouring down her back and reaching her feet. They covered her back like flowers, becoming alive with waves and turnings, as they shined dark-blonde with hues of gold in the light. Her hair was parted in the middle of her forehead curving as it was drawn across the brow and tied in the back with two ribbons or knots (*ἀμφιδέσμους*). It evoked endless delight as it fell from her temples like grapes resembling at same time painted, tasselled flowers, covering the lower part of her face [lit: jaws: *σιαγόνας*), and appearing like the flow of water sprouting from a fountain. Their color was neither very blonde nor very dark, but blondish towards the gold. It was not a pure golden color, but mixed-in with others and had a deep, darker glow.

Her arms grew most harmoniously, not man-like but womanly with soft, smooth skin down to the palms of her hands. If one would have called her *ευκώλενος* [i.e., white-armed, said of the goddess Hera, Iliad I.55. 195] he would have been close to the truth. From the edge of her palms there grew fingers like branches, wide at the base and tapering down to the fingernails. One could say that they had been made of newly-cut ivory.

As for her breasts they were still undeveloped, but firm and protruding a little, if at all ... for they were compact because of their imperfection. They were hidden like untouched gems and honored by special inviolability. The

54. The omission here is a sentence comparing the girl's lips to "glowing coals."

waist: modest and restrained by a belt, was narrow and slim. The concave area below was confined towards the center, without the bulginess of bones; while the thighs widened ... and were in no way inferior to the statue of the Knidean Aphrodite ...[55] while the knees and legs were harmonious [with the rest of her body]. The legs had graceful movements and along with the knees were perfectly formed. Nor did her ankles lack grace, for they were white and lightning-like in their movement, astonishing and arresting the sight if the viewer.

Such was her entire body: slim and wide where necessary; and in its parts symmetrical and beautiful. Nor was the color of her skin unattractive or unloved and this because she had been created of pure and unmixed whiteness, as if the new-fallen snow had whitened her. While the red of her cheeks and of the other parts of her body were rich in color, adding to the entirety as it shined. The other parts extended the whiteness covering the skin....

And I recall these [details] not to present her more beautiful than she was ... for they were actually part of her, in the Past ... like a prairie of natural flowers, or like a rosebud of pure form, growing and blossoming. But also in order to show you how her beauty glowed, how there was adornment and symmetry in her limbs [also to show how] she was unmatched and excelled all others in beauty, including those of the past, who were renowned for their loveliness.... It was these attributes of hers [that stirred up hopes in her parents] for the girl's early marriage. This because of her palmtree height, the lithe movement of her feet, the banded-tight (at the waist) linen dress, with its flow and slight lift as she walked, the length of her legs ... and all these along with her appearance.

[There was also] the harmonious joining of her shoulders to the nape of her neck, while the molding together of her chest to the shoulders ... had been praised by many, and her hand had been sought in marriage.... For whatever she would wear, the dresses woven with pearls, precious stones and golden threads,[56] were all defeated by her beauty. They seemed as if struck by lightning, or distressed because they could not adorn her in any way.

[For actually] ornaments belong to those who lack grace, and to the ugly; also to the unnatural and the misshapen. For when ornaments seek to embellish natural beauty ... they accept defeat willingly. Such ornaments include necklaces around the neck, earrings, transparent finery of the breast, kerchiefs and hair ribbons, but also perfumes that charm or those unnatural mixtures, the inventions of man. All these along with magic skills (*μαγγαωεύματα*), but also appliances, instruments, charms and wigs (*ἀλλοτρίων πλοκάμων*), can decorate after a fashion beyond the decent and decorous, but [will

55. The statute, which may then have been in Constantinople, is now in the Vatican Museum, Rome.

56. All this finery reminds one of the imperial wardrobe.

soon reveal] those who employ them as being false and vain.

[As for Styliani] if Homer had seen her, he would have called her ἑλκεσί-πεπλον [i.e., she whose cape drags behind her, said of the Trojan women in *Iliad* IV], or perhaps he would have called her ἀργυπόπεγα [i.e., she of the silvery-white feet; said of Thetis; *Iliad,* I. 538]. Or the poet may have used some other of those expressions he employed to celebrate the Greek goddesses. Yet all those words and expressions, along with the fancy attributes, proved false and empty. For the goddesses fell into passions and were involved in shameful affairs. [It has also been shown that] their position and titles were accorded them by the tyrants [of ancient Greece]. But she [Styliani] the best among women even among those of renown with all the beauty of her youth and without blemish; her mind without violent thoughts, nor neglecting what was said in the myths ... was immaculate.

I myself was pleased and joyous for the good fortune of my child, and could not help having the most ambitious hopes which became increasingly higher for her. These fatherly sentiments about her future ... were carried forth by the most promising expectations, because seeing her and her beauty, that had not been molded by outside forces, but by sacred hands, wouldn't be charmed, without shame, as it is in poetry.

Who when confronted by her virtue, propriety and honesty would not be led upwards towards the Best (τὰ κρείττω)? Who when seeing her body and its symmetry, while reflecting on the generosity of the Creator ... would not be stunned by her death? Who, when seeing her as she studied the words of the Lord, wouldn't imagine her to be a swallow, or a nightingale uttering beautiful sounds? Who when hearing her chant in the house of God joining her voice with the modes of hymns wouldn't bless the Creator, and admire also her love for Him?

Who upon seeing her concerns for the poor, her giving alms as much as was possible would not have been moved to pity, even if he was harder than iron? Who upon seeing this youthful person's love and fervent care for her parents and also how she sought their own love in turn wouldn't have admired such an affectionate daughter?

Who when acquainted with her concern for weaving and her learning without protest wouldn't announce these matters to others? Who had conducted herself so faultlessly prior to acquiring perfection and then moved upwards to the highest levels, above human capability? Who would take part in children's play as long as it did not go beyond propriety? Who possessed a firm mind in a delicate body and displayed common sense beyond her youth? Who showed great respect towards her parents, and was fully obedient, being an example ... for all the household?

Who devoted herself to the helping of the sick and suffering ... would

share their sores[57] and also had her parents share in this [charitable concern]? Who would distribute bread [ψυχίων, i.e., crumbs] and food from out table to the poor? Who cultivated the love of God in abundance and cared deeply for good, praise-worthy deeds, [this] while being indifferent to all superficiality and embellishments?

Whose embraces of parents and continuous caresses (ἀσπασμούς); the holding of hands and of arms around the neck stirred in turn their love for their child? Who was a consolation for me, and tempering influence away from cares ... and the irksome events [of the day]? Who when coming to the arms [of her parents] like a new-born chick, flapping its wings and jumping around, would stir up our hopes to see her dressed as a bride? Who revered and would worship with deep devotion the holy icons, the glittering [church] tapers and the incense? And who expressed so much love for the sacred?

Yet along with all these, was she not also adorned by Nature and amply enriched? Hadn't she acquired the most attractive body of all maidens in Byzantium? Do you suppose [nevertheless] that her good fortune consisted only in this? Still there were many who boasted about their wealth and who although desirous of possessing her, were in no hurry to arrange a marriage contract. Was her incomparable beauty then worthy of love only among such aspirants?

In spite of these conditions did she go astray from duty and fall into the erotic schemes of youth? No, not at all! Nor did she ever consider changing her maidenly ways at all in order to conform with these matters. Nor did she undergo all that youths do when led on by strong emotions, or concern herself with such matters. Neither was she carried away by the promises of matchmakers (χυμφαγωγοί)[58] or others who prompted her towards these things, along with those who were consumed by strong passions.[59] Nor did she by the use of sly means–adornments of the face ..., shame her honest features, nor did the umblemished, sunlike beauty, care to employ other common expedients that are used in such matters.... For she knew well that if she attempted this, or dared to act contrary to the ways established by the Creator, 'seeking to correct the seemingly incorrect,' given her by Nature, she would have provoked laughter and unbelievable blasphemy.

She therefore remained within the boundaries of propriety and modesty, retaining [inviolate] the unblemished creation of Him.... In such a manner were the works of the Lord admired and glorified for having planted so liberally in that young body, made of earth, such a prairie of beauty. Such was

57. It may be that Styliani and her mother did charitable work in one of the hospitals in Constantinople, one possibly for children, orphans, or bedpatients. See below, Part III, B and G.

58. Matchmakers were usually middle-aged or elderly women who would visit various families and homes, and seek to bring couples together. It is not clear why Psellos did not like them.

59. He implies the suitors who wanted to marry the girl.

the child and all eyes turned in her direction, and because of this we [the parents] were filled with expectations for her marriage. This along with all the other things life has to offer maidens ...; while we [on our side] attended the occasion for their fulfillment. Yet, what had He decided for her? [He] who in all wisdom and Providence guided all towards such an end.

If the beautiful which He creates with His own hands is matchless, but could become thoroughly polluted through mixing with passions, then this maiden so good, so modest and so beloved (*ερατεωή*) may have fallen into such contaminations. Nevertheless, while knowing these things and the inexpressible that could have happened to her (phenomena known only by Him but hidden from us). He could have prevented or restrained them from taking place.[60] Instead He let her be encircled by pestilential disease, heavy and difficult to diagnose (... *νόσον περιβάλλει λοιμικῆς βαρεία* ...) and known only to those who had caught it...."

3. The disease (*λοιμική*, i.e., pestilential).[61] "... As for other diseases, they are caused either by harmful foods or fluids, or by an excess of anyone of these elements in the body. But also by [festering] sores in certain organs that plague the body terribly.... Those [other diseases] have been cured by medical attention and care, but this present one was not caused by anything known,[62] as it issued from the marrow and the bones. It began by altering the entire structure of the body, and in the beginning filled it with fever. Then blisters appeared and spread like grapes all over the surface of the skin and having destroyed the harmony of her body left it horrible [to see]. The flesh was swollen by a mass of sores, stirring pity in all those who saw her. While neither medical art nor power of remedies were able to cure the maiden nor did the attention and human care help any.

These happenings nevertheless were for our own salvation,[63] so that we should not presume when ill or suppose that matters of health are the domain of ephemeral physicians. [For in the profession of the latter] failure is more prevalent than success.[64] Instead we ought to raise our eyes upwards towards Him, and ask for His assistence. For while the body is punished by some disease that deforms, corrupts, ruins and rots it before death, we need be well-disposed towards the Almighty and His inscrutable judgment. For He brings

60. The idea that God could have saved the maiden recurs, but the matter is resolved. See p. 92 ff.

61. Concerning medicine in eleventh-century Constantinople, see below Part III, B.

62. This comment must seem curious, for the "unknown disease [a severe form of smallpox]" was a recurrent epidemic of the Middle Ages: a contagious disease–*λοιμική ευλογιά*–often leading to the patient's death.

63. Meaning the salvation of the parents, who because of their suffering and the great loss of their beloved daughter, were brought closer to God, religion and the monastery.

64. This ignorance and incompetance of physicians in Byzantium was continuously criticized by writers, before and after Psellos. See my forthcoming study on the topic.

on diseases and sorrow, then displaces some from here [or takes away] the ones He feels might fall into the filth of life.[65] This is done so that their purity and goodness may not be stained or be infected by the corruption of life here. Others however after leaving them suffer the evils of the disease, He cures, since these occurrences and [the patients'] return to health had all been foreseen by Him. Yet our own daughter had not been polluted by happenings in life ... nor had she been stained by human bodily passions.

So she layed there [on her bed] crushed down by innumerable, festering sores (in numbers and kinds one could hardly imagine). They were around the openings of her ears, around her nostrils, in her throat and even on the palate of her mouth [sores] causing pain and difficulty in the ailing girl. But then as the twentieth day dawned we had better hopes: for the sores dried up and began to fall from her body like flakes. But then suddenly what happened to her, who seemed like a wrecked ship that had just been towed to port? Violent fever came on, we know not from where or how, and it consumed the remaining flesh while she layed there as if embalmed, Yet she endured the unbelievable flames without complaint. Nor did she say anything unpleasant or hateful during the days that went by. She neither cried out, nor uttered words of hate, or any unpleasant expressions that persons are apt to say when ill.

Instead, she displayed fortitude (*κερτερικότητα*) like a diamond, as she kept struggling with fever and sores. But then what occured as she was completely weakened by lack of nourishment, and as her physical strength faded? For not only was she unable to support further the flames of her fever, but as she was also tormented and exhausted by sores [her phonetic organs lost their power of speech].[66]

In the light of these developments we fell to weeping and hoped for the end as her death was approaching. When the maiden sensed that the end was near, as she was unable to speak or cry out, she motioned to her mother [to come to her side by uttering] senseless, inarticulate sounds. Then raising her hands a little, hands that had been destroyed by sores and were without skin or bones, she joined these to her mother's and gave what I thought was the last embrace. This gesture burned and tore the mother's heart (*τὰ σπλάχνα πλέον ἐξέκαυσετε καὶ ἐπανέφλεξε*) and brought streams of tears to the eyes of all those present. For they were parents too (attached to their children) and shared our woe....

But then the moment of death passed and the thirtieth day [of the child's illness] came and she layed there, voiceless and in a hurry to leave this world.

65. For this and other sentiments expressed by Psellos about his social environment, see below Part III, F/b.

66. This phrase is actually found in the text, but it appears in a later paragraph. It has been placed here by me because it provides a continuity with what was said earlier and with what follows.

The crowd of people around her were crying and striking their breast in lamentation, and wished that they too could die along with the expiring girl. Then she gave up her spirit to the glowing angels[67] standing by her side.

4. Lamentations.

At once great lamentation broke out with tears, sobbing and sighs, rising from all those present—the relatives, the friends, the house servants and all the others who kept falling over the girl's body. And along with them were the nurses, and those who had loved her greatly and had been like a mother to the maiden. It was they who outside of having given birth to the child had breast fed her, wrapped her in swaddling clothes, and reared her up to this age.[68] They embraced the corpse tearfully, addressed it as 'Mistress and Lady' (Δέσποινα καὶ Κυρία) [and they sobbed disconsolately].

When the lamentation reached its height and [the corpse of the] girl was given its last bath and dressed in funeral garments, it was placed upon a stretcher (σκίμποδον).[69] Her features had been totally disfigured by sores, while numerous others covered the rest of her body. By their horrible appearance they amply showed the suffering brought on by the disease....

As her parents saw her stretched out with her former [harmonious] features now frightfully disfigured, shapeless and unrecognizable with no traces of her former self ... they screamed wildly! Then falling over the lifeless body they kissed it repeatedly[70] wherever they found an area with no sores. Weeping profusely they cried out: 'O most beloved child! Dearest, first and only child given to us by God. Great joy of ours ... but now, what is this sight we see? What happened here despite all our hopes? What is this barbarous and ferocious disease that conquered you after filling you with sores and blood, it sent you off to the grave! Why, after bringing on numerous calamities and wounding you with suffering, did it snatch you away?

[Why was it] when it pounced upon others and filled them with sores, that none of them died? Who was it that bore you malice? Who looked upon you with illwill, and who put the evil eye on you.[71] Who, after having woven a deadly web around you, engaged you with Death and this before your time? Who, prior to the time of harvest, cut down the staff of youth? Who was it, who after blackening your sunlike beauty [with many sores], left you no different from the dead?

67. This image may have been inspired by Byzantine iconography.

68. The commentary suggests that the mother's role (and this would depend upon her social class) during the child's early years was a minor one, as the feeding, infant care, and so forth, was done by nurses and house servants.

69. This is actually a cot (bed or stretcher) used to carry the sick or the dead. See Galen VI. 150. The word is also found in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (254, 709) as σκίμπους; see also Plato's *Protagoras,* 310 C; Xenophon's *Anabasis* VI. 14; and others. The word also appears in Nikitas Eugenianos' *Monody* for Theodoros Prodromos. See my study, "Of Professors and Disciples in Twelfth-Century Byzantium," *Byzantion,* 43 (1974), 108-19.

70. The touching and embracing a corpse was common down into modern times, but was forbidden in Greece only recently.

5. If disorderly matter [was responsible for her death], then we should not be sorrowful since it brings on all sorts of maladies. Nor should anyone complain against Divine judgment if death is brought on by heavenly Providence that conducts all for the good of Man. Nor should we say anything against the Creator because it is impossible to evade or escape what He has decreed. Yet, there are those who, after having caught the disease and consumed by it, were nevertheless saved from the snares of Death. Then after returning to life they lived long in wickedness and guile.

Why weren't you my child returned to life? You who were so pure and unblemished. Who had not marred your character with anything reproachful. In view of the sores [and the suffering] you underwent without complaint: why didn't the Creator give in [a little] and bring you back to life? Why didn't He heed the entreaties of all the Saints we invoked as suppliants and emissaries to Him ... but decide instead your death![72] He knew of the great love the parents felt for their child, and of the many hopes they nursed for her.

He[73] had shared in human nature and in human ways and did all that we mortals do, except the committing of sin! Couldn't He then feel some compassion for the ailing maiden who had been struck down by the arrows of festering sores? Why did he overlook the anguish and the wailing of her parents and, instead, our only child and solace was [abandoned and] carried off?

O my child, formerly so beautiful, and now a frightful sight to see! How were you able to endure the savageness of your sores? How could you bear their foulness, and their bleeding? How did it happen that the death dealing malady, like a ferocious beast after sinking its teeth into your flesh, killed you? Where are the rosy cheeks and the brightness, that glittered like a lily? And the soft skin, the harmony of your body along with the faultless movement of your steps? All these not only surprised your parents, but also those who saw your peerless beauty!

Since God rules according to His foreknowledge (judgments ... that are incomprehesible to us): could He then have taken you away from here, and prepared a pleasant meadow of rest, as it was revealed to you [in your dream]? [74] Go then on that good, eternal journey, and rest in those heavenly places. Shine in spirit among the Prudent Virgins [see: Matt. xxv. 1-13]. And reveal yourself in our dreams [appearing] as you were prior to your illness, bringing solace to our hearts and dispelling our faintheartedness. You will

71. A superstition still prevalent in modern Greece.

72. This complaint does not agree with the above and the later statements which urge an acceptance of divine judgment.

73. The reference here is to Jesus Christ and to His Incarnation and human side.

74. See above Section 3, where the dreams seen by Stiliani are told about and interpreted by Psellos.

thus bring joy to your parents; and they may recover a little from this heavy sorrow.

After these and other expressions more tearful and painful had been voiced by the parents the child's corpse was placed upon a stretcher[75] and carried towards the exit.... When we reached the cemetary where the grave had been decorated, the funeral service took place, and the bloodless sacrifice performed.[76] Then the corpse was surrendered to the grave and hidden under a slab. This was done with many tears and sighs, while all tongues voiced their blessing. There was no one, no matter how stone or iron-like he may have been, who did not weep and mourn her loss.

6. The only good [consolatory] part (... *ὁ δε τῶν ταύτης ηλῶν ἀξιέραστον* ...) in all these sorrowful happenings was that with divine assistance [the maiden] left this world, as she is our witness. For she saw the following in a dream (that she recounted to her mother). Ten days prior to the girl's death, when her mother who would spend the entire night by her side, sat on her bed and asked her how she felt and if she had been able to sleep a little, the maiden replied[77]: 'Mother although I begged the man with keys in his hand, the one I saw [in my dream], to open the gates of the garden: he did not respond. But I followed him as he walked on, pleading with him all along to open the gates as soon as possible.

After travelling along a long road ... I was worn out, wet with perspiration and felt I'd be lost expiring on the way; we arrived finally at some place where the gate was shut. When the man with the keys opened, we entered. We were in a garden filled with trees and fruit, also with plants that had thick branches and were joyous to see. There were furthermore all kinds of roses, lilies and many other fragrant flowers.

As I stood there gladdened by the loveliness of the garden I saw, a little further on, a man sitting. He was of such enormous height that he reached the sky, while around him in a circle stood his followers,[78] dressed in white. All of them had their hands clasped together, and stood in awe (*ἔμφοβοι*, i.e., in fear). When I saw the man, I too was frightened, as both timidity and terror seized me ... I felt giddy and trembled. Then along with those who stood around him, I knelt down and worshipped the man. I prayed along with them and felt as one of them.

Afterwards all stood up quivering and in awe (*ὑπότρομοι καί ἔμφοβοι*) with folded arms. Thereupon two young men in white garments entered bringing an infant with them. It was very small, weak and ailing; and after approaching

75. For the word *σκίμποδον*, see above fn. 69.

76. Those present during the burial would partake of Holy Communion–a custom persisting today in some regions of Greece.

77. In a funeral oration or works of literature of this kind, certain inconsistencies can easily appear. See above, p. 91.

78. The word appearing in the text is *ὑπηρέτοι*, i.e., servants.

the enormous [central] figure they placed the infant on his bosom. He took it up in his hands and turned it round and round; and as he did this the child became healthy, it gained strength and seemed newly born.

Thereupon, [the towering figure] placed the infant on the earth among the flowers. Seeing these things my hair stood on end and my heart trembled (... *τούτα ὡς εἶδον ευφός ἀνεστάφη μοι τά σπλάχνα, ἔφριξον δεμου καὶ τρίχες τῷ παραδόξω τῆς ὄφεως* ...). Since I could not endure the sight any longer I addressed myself to the man who carried the keys with sobs and tears. I embraced his knees[79] and entreated him to return, and while my heart stopped beating, I awoke suddenly. Even now I am covered with perspiration [as I recall] the scene I had just seen.

When the maiden recounted the dream we were seized by fear that death was approaching. For it seemed that the first man she had seen was one of the Saints, he who guards the entrance to Paradise; or as I believe, the first and highest among the Apostles, the one to whom Christ delivered the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. The enormous figure the person towering above all others seems to me to have been the Moulder and Creator of all, older than Time, greater and tallest of all in reality; while around Him in a circle were the angels worshipping Him. The two young men, who had brought the infant in their arms [may have been] ... angels, who had been sent on a mission. They had brought in the maiden's soul in the form of an infant[80] and delivered it to the Creator. Skeletonlike and infirm from its long illness, the infant was seen to regain both health and strength through its patience and perseverance ... which had prepared the soul, and had kept it in good health, in the presence of God.

But there was also another dream [or vision] seen by the girl prior to this one and it should not be overlooked, for it too was holy; and we believed it was revealed to her by God. She saw, as if in a vision, a woman who was carrying an infant in her arms ...[81] and held two branches in her hand, who approached the maiden's bed with the intention of laying down beside her. But then the woman decided to leave, and when the ailing girl asked her for one of the branches, she was handed the shortest one. When the girl asked for the longest one, the woman did not respond, but instead went out of the house and vanished.

Later on when the maiden awoke she related what she had seen to those around her. It seems that the woman she had seen was the true Mother of God, and of the Lord [Jesus]. She of the sacred features had approached the maiden's bed carrying her son and our Lord in her arms.... The woman's ap-

79. This was an ancient gesture of supplication.

80. Compare this scene with Byzantine iconographical representaions of "The Dormition of the Panaghia."

81. The infant, we are told, had the sign of the Cross upon its forehead.

pearance and her stretching out on the girl's bed revealed His visitation; while the handing of the shorter branch to the girl foretold the short, quick cutting off of her life.

These things, seemingly strange, become more so [when they appear in dreams] seen and interpreted by such a child. Nevertheless [and in spite of these omens], also because of her youth, she took no precautions against happenings foretold. For it is not unusual at all for children to see and explain such dreams according to their own understanding. Yet the clarity and purity of imagination in one so young, so immature, in one who had not yet attained perfection, is worthy of attention. Furthermore she had not been polluted ... by the filth ... and corruption of life here,[82] but [instead went on] immaculate and pure to Paradise as the figure had revealed in her dream.

7. I, lamenting and gloomy, and being in appearance no different than a corpse, mourn the part of me that was lost! As I go towards the grave[83] and return again [entirely] broken up, nor know what remedy to take in order to relieve my grief. Jacob wept for Joseph who supposedly had been devoured by a beast, but when in a little while he learned that Joseph was still alive, he was overwhelmed with joy. Jeremiah lamented Jerusalem when he foresaw its fall ...,[84] but my own sorrow is such that it cannot be measured by time, nor circumscribed within boundaries. Nor can it be forgotten for a while, as it stretches across the centuries till the last Resurrection.

For in truth the cloudiness covering my eyes has brought on a weakness of vision, and the sighs from my heart bring floods of tears; nor do I know how to stop the pain. Even they who have sought to comfort and console me, have succeeded instead in stirring up further the flames of my pain. [Indeed], most of us are accustomed to rationalize (φιλοσοφῶμε) the calamities of others [and this] in order to appear magnanimous, and present a semblance of placidity. But when sorrow falls upon us then natural feelings overwhelm all speech along with the greatness of our heart.

It has been shown that nothing is stronger than Nature; nor is there anything more calamitous than the loss of a child.[85] For in other adversities, on the outside of the family (even if one's own soul has to suffer) the pain is experienced superficially, and does not go deep. But the grief for children lost [is without bounds] since they are our own flesh and bones ... and we are not able to weep woefully for their death without committing irreverence toward God,[86] even though we succeed only in tormenting our soul with with thorns and burning nails....

82. See fn. 68 above and Part III, E below.

83. The meaning here is not clear.

84. This is another lacunae in the Sathas text.

85. Here and in several other writings, Michael Psellos mentions children, the young and his students, with concern and affection. See below, Part III, A.

86. I.e., blaming Him for our trials and our sorrows.

But you, of my children,[87] are the most beloved, and the finest ornament of parents, the pride of relatives and ornament of every house. Honor among those of your own age, and the good fortune of brothers; you [my daughter whom] great Providence took away to be in heavenly places.... Also to be filled with joy, and associate with spirits of the Just, untouched and unadulterated ... by the corruption of this world....[88] Yet since He took you away, [we ask you to] help stop this flow of our tears; help us put an end to our interminable sighs, and put out the fires of pain caused by your loss. Reveal yourself in our nightly dreams ... remain there a while, and keep speaking to me, addressing me in most dear terms, as you used to do when alive. Place your hands around my neck, embracing me and stirring fatherly affection.[89] Now that you have gone away, appear [at least] as a vision in dreams ... encircle me with your dearest arms, and embrace me to freshen my entirely dry mouth, instead of abandoning me to dullness and despondency....

If we were separated by Divine Will, there still remain among us undying bonds and affinities. Approach me my child, me whom you used to call father a short while ago. He, who for a long time had been without children.[90] Remember your fatherly ties and remember your mother's love for you. You know how much we suffered, how many sleepless nights we spent [by your side ...] without having anything to eat ... and our weeping. Also [you know well] how many supplications we addressed to God so that you could reach this age. When you recall these things, answer us with the same solicitude our bringing you into this world and raising you up. The only thing we want of you is your coming to visit us; or your appearing frequently in our dreams, [and this in order to] bring us comfort and to ease our grief that only Death, or the waters of Lethe[91] could relieve. Perhaps too your speech (λόγοι) when expelled into the air, may come down to us unravelling[92] and thus vanquish the immensity of our sorrow.

[To be continued]

87. These and other terms about brothers and children are only rhetorical.

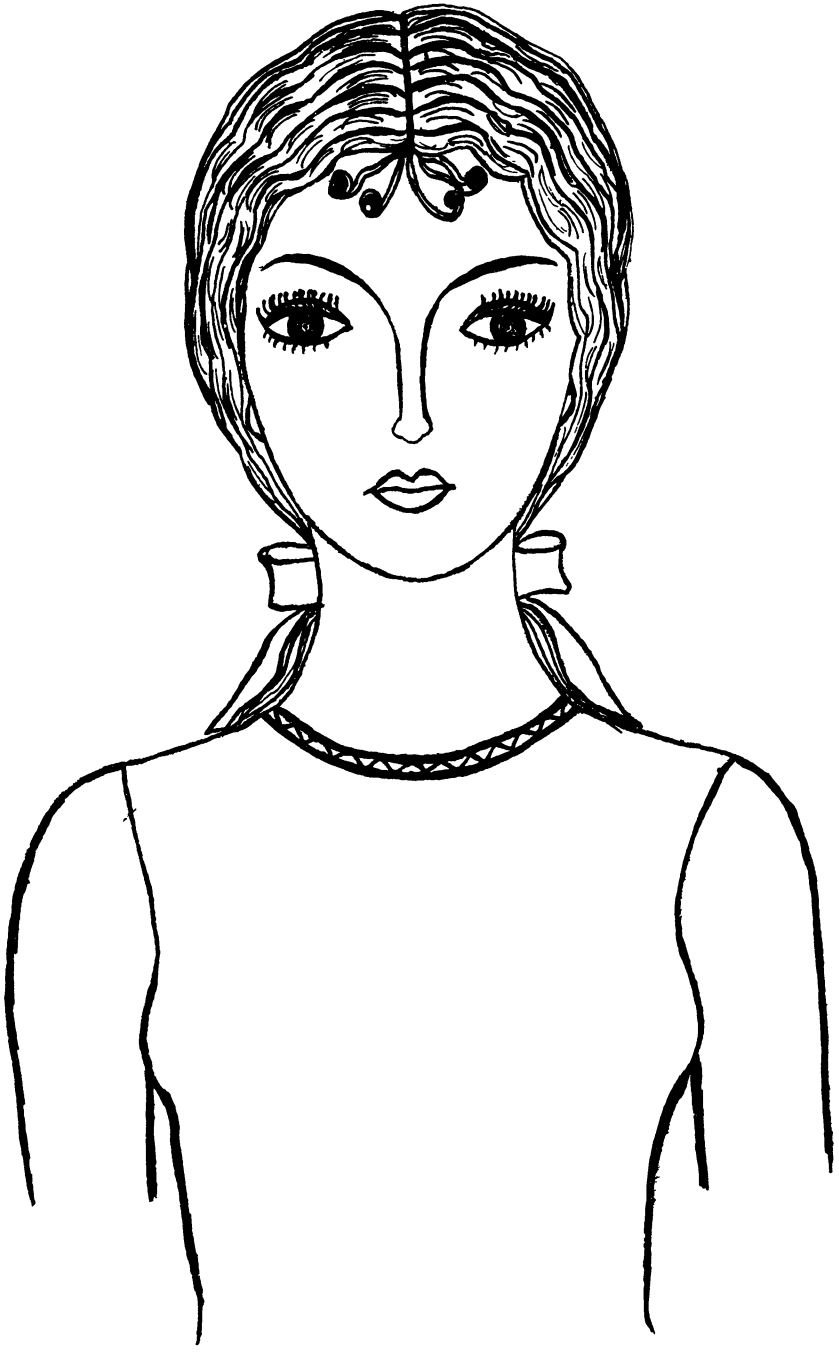
88. These and other similar remarks on society, life and the world have been noted above in fn. 65. See also below, Part III, E/b.

89. In the closing section of this oration, Psellos' sentiments seem to reach a paroxism of emotional confusion where all is mixed together. Indeed, these along with other notations are open to various interpretations. Yet, they should be seen and evaluated in a totality of personal, historical, literary and other details.

90. It has been mentioned above (and see also Part III, G below) that no precise information is known about Psellos' wife or his marriage. It appears, however, that the couple had only one child late in their marriage.

91. I.e., the river of forgetfulness in ancient Greek mythology.

92. The implication here is that the speech of the dead, travelling from Heaven to Earth, could reach the living.



Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines, 3, Part 2 (1976), 101-15.

BOOK REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Byzantine Books and Bookmen, A Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium. Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1975. xi, 109 pp., 65 black and white plates. $16.00.

Questions of the production, availability and use of books have become current in many areas of Byzantine studies. These questions were addressed in the first of the Dumbarton Oaks colloquia, "Byzantine Books and Bookmen," held in the spring of 1971. One anticipated that the publication of the colloquium would provide a summary or overview of prevailing methods and premises. As it is, five of the original eight papers have been published, without introduction or conclusion, in a fairly expensive paperback edition. They include: Nigel G. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium"; Jean Irigoin, "Centres de copie et bibliothèques"; Cyril Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A. D. 750-850"; Hans-Georg Beck, "Der Leserkreis der byzantinischen 'Volksliteratur' im Licht der handschriftlichen Überlieferung"; and Kurt Weitzmann, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts." Although the papers are of strong individual interest, they yield no comprehensive formulation of the subject.

The tone of the work is set by Mango and Wilson, both of whom emphasize the dearth of books in Byzantium. Wilson surveys the full range of Middle Byzantine history, assembling material on four themes: book production and the trade, readers, scribes, and authors. His evidence, drawn almost entirely from insriptions, colophons and texts, leads him to the sober conclusion that the high cost of book production precluded the existence of both a book trade as such and a wide reading public. Mango concentrates on a specific case, studying the range and availability of the texts used in the Iconodule Council of 787. Since neither the Patriarchal Library nor other libraries of Constantinople could furnish intact editions of all seventy texts used by the council, Mango, too, concludes that books were scarce. He demonstrates that the eighth century was a period of particular paucity. Nonetheless, the high cost and scarcity of books persisted into the ninth century as well, and should influence assessments made of it; Mango points out, for instance, that Photios could scarcely have afforded to own all 279 books cited in his *Bibliotheca.* Thus Mango, too, emphasizes the scarcity of books.

Weitzmann, who examines the production of illuminated books, asks what texts were endowed with illustrative cycles and why. Using both surviving cycles and vignettes surviving from lost cycles, he assembles over thirty different categories of text that received illustration. Popularity and narrative drama were the only prerequisites. The richness of Byzantine iconography as Weitzmann reconstructs it contrasts with the somber picture painted by Mango and Wilson. creating an interesting tension. Weitzmann's methodology is dramatically different, since he presumes massive losses instead of accepting the dearth of surviving material as an index to actual Byzantine conditions; accordingly, he reaches dramatically different conclusions.

The nature of their evidence led both Mango and Wilson to concentrate on the ninth and tenth centuries. The same is true of the noted codicologist, Irigoin. Though outlining at the end of his paper the changing relationships of scribe and text in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, Irigoin concentrates on the reconstruction of libraries, contributing in the process to our knowledge of four ninth- and tenth-century collections. He demonstrates that most libraries were associated with *scriptoria* and outlines three methods for their reconstruction. The criteria he uses in determining common provenance–common format and lineation–have proved so far to be applicable only intermittently to Byzantine material. It remains to be seen how widely they can be used and

how other cases can be handled.

Only Beck looks primarily at the later Byzantine periods, examining the audience of Byzantine popular literature. He characterizes two types of popular literature–that which is popular in origin and rises to a higher social level, and that which is conceived on a high social level but for one reason or another does not use the cultivated language–and demonstrates that the bulk of Byzantine popular literature belongs to the latter type. It was largely metropolitan in origin; this was particularly true of the twelfth century, but even in the Palaeologan period, it is only with the satires that one finds a clear instance of the first type. Its audience was thus largely a cultivated one, and it is in books of aristocratic origin, in association with texts in the cultivated language, that Byzantine popular literature survuves.

The five papers are fluent and handsomely organized demonstration pieces. They bring interesting observations to bear on important problems. Taken as a whole, however, they demonstrate how nascent and diverse the investigation of Byzantine books and bookmen still is.

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Tomas Hägg. *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur. Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpierens in der Bibliotheke.* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Graeca Upsaliensis, 8. Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell, 1975. 218 pp. £10.45.

The *Bibliotheca* of Photius is among the greatest literary treasures of the Middle Ages, an invaluable document for scholars of both the medieval and ancient Greek worlds. Some 270 classical and early medieval works are represented in summary and excerpt form within its pages; of these, approximately 160 have not survived to the present in an independent tradition. The *Bibliotheca* represents scraps from a literary banquet far richer and more varied than our own library shelves can provide; Photius offers a taste of authors and works otherwise lost to us, and he slices quotations of surviving works from manuscripts often earlier (and perhaps better) than the oldest ones we possess. Scholars of literature and history can hardly refuse an invitation to sample the *Bibliotheca,* but their reactions to its substance diverge widely, from very warm (e.g., Kayser accepted Photian readings into his text of the *Vita Apollonii*[1]) to very cool (e.g., Leopoldi denied that Photius retains the *ipsa verba* of Agatharcides[2]). Behind the reactions of Kayser and Leopoldi lie very different assumptions about Photius' methods and his attitudes toward his materials, an issue crucial for students of Byzantine intellectual life and history. Photius is, after all, one of the great intellectual figures of the medieval world, and his use of his own literary heritage does much to reveal the nature of ninth-century Byzantine humanism.

Ancient historians, Byzantine historians, literary critics, and textual critics have long needed a systematic study of Photius' methods which offers criteria for the intelligent use of the *Bibliotheca.* A. Severyns[3] pointed the way for such a study in 1938, when he compared the Photian excerpts of five surviving authors (Philostratus, Arrian, Methodius,

1. Flavius Philostratus, *Opera auctiora,* ed. C. L. Kayser (Leipzig, 1870-71).

2. Leopoldi, *"De Agatharcide Cnideo,"* unpublished dissertation, Rostock, 1892, cited in J. Palm, *Über Sprache und Stil des Diodoros von Sizilien. Ein Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der hellenistischen Prosa* (Lund, 1955), p. 16, n. 1.

3. A. Severyne, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos,* I: *Le codex 239 de Photius,* Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Universitè de Liège, fasc. LXXVIII-LXXIX (Liège, 1938), pp. 63-84.

Aelius Aristides, and Plutarch) with the original texts as preserved by independent transmission. Severyns' objectives were limited, since he focussed upon the manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca* in order to determine which one preserved the best readings for the source texts (but *not* necessarily for Photius' version of these texts). Severyns' method, however, could be extended into various fruitful areas. Subsequently, Jonas Palm[4] reexamined two historical texts (Philostratus and Plutarch) and drew substantial conclusions regarding Photius' excerpting process. He characterized Photius' preferences in selecting material for excerpts, and described two additional types of reference to source works– the short reference and the compressed account. Hägg has built his own valuable study upon the method and conclusions of these two brief pioneering works.

Hägg undertakes detailed comparison between the Photian and the independently transmitted versions of several authors, following Palm's three categories of reference (short, compressed, and excerpted). To Severyns' selection of Philostratus, Methodius, Plutarch, and Aelius Aristides, Hägg adds Himerius, Dio Chrysostom, Josephus, and Procopius, insuring representation from all three types of reference as well as from various *genres* (history, rhetoric, biography, and theology). As Hägg himself admits (pp. 54-55), his choice of authors was not always completely fortunate, since, for example, Philostratus does not exist in a modern edition listing textual variants. Accordingly, when the *Bibliotheca* diverges from the accepted text of Philostratus, it is extremely difficult to determine which divergences might be corruptions adopted by Photius from his exemplar, and which divergences might be alterations proper to the *Bibliotheca's* own tradition. In all, however, this study is extremely successful and represents a major advance in Photian scholarship. Hägg investigates the varying relationship between the *Bibliotheca* and its sources with meticulous care and with great sensitivity to the problems inherent in the material; he extrapolates reasonable criteria for using the *Bibliotheca*, and he summarizes them in an extremely useful concluding chapter. Historians, textual critics, and lexicographers would do well to study this summary carefully and to follow the footnotes back to the preceding chapters where the conclusions are supported. I wish to extend a word of caution only to those scholars who are interested in Photius as an author rather than in the *Bibliotheca* as it survives. For them, it is desirable to know exactly which divergences from source texts result from Photius' own hand and which are corruptions in the transmission of the *Bibliotheca* text. Hägg points out that divergences abound in the *Bibliotheca*–some clearly belong to Photius and result from the process of fitting excerpts into a new context. Others, however, are typical of the corruptions which attack all manuscript traditions because of a scribe's inattention (e.g., haplography, dittography, omission of particles, and incorporation of glosses) or excessive zeal (e.g., occasional atticizing and over-specifying). In Chapter 4, "Die kleineren Abweichungen," Hägg clearly states that such divergences in the *bibliotheca* tradition are not necessarily the alterations of Photius himself (*cf.* pp. 96 and 97), but he occasionally implies that they are (e.g., "Ferner gibt Photios mit Vorliebe das attizistische ἐς (-) bei Philostratos mit εἰς (-) wieder..." p. 68). Although common sense dictates that Photius is as likely a source of alteration as any scribe, the evidence does not permit us to differentiate Photius' alterations from those of the early copyists of the *Bibliotheca.*

Finally and diffidently, I wish to note the following typographical errors: p. 37, 1.18 *war: was;* p. 59, 1.13, *för: für;* and p. 147, 1.10 *wir: wie.*

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4. Palm, pp. 15-26.

Ernst Kitzinger. *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West: Selected Studies.* Ed. W. Eugene Kleinbauer. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1976. xvii, 419 pp., numerous illustrations. $22.50.

Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that enlightened us. Few have equalled Kitzinger's combination of intense, precise, and sympathetic analysis of specific works of art, with broad historical vision based upon comperehensive erudition. This reprint of thirteen of his articles includes examples which emphasize the one or the other aspect of his work, but all are informed by that splendid synthesis of historical and visual perception. Here are two key articles that have enormously clarified our understanding of whole phases of Byzantine art: the seventh century (delivered at the 1958 Byzantine Congress) and Byzantine influence in the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (reprinted from *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 1966). Here also is the famous monograph on literary sources for the cult of images before iconoclasm (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 1954) and Kitzinger's two most important general articles on floor mosaics (given respectively at the 1948.Byzantine Congress and the 1963 Paris colloquium). Among the others, the articles on a Theodosian marble fragment (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 1960) and on the fragments of the original mosaics of Salerno Cathedral (*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft,* 1972), are exemplary as studies of unprepossessing new or neglected works of art which in his treatment of them become the cornerstones for major art historical conclusions.

The articles are all reproduced by offset directly from the originals, preserving their page numbers for easy reference. Some will note that this is the press which a dozen years ago reprinted Kitzinger's celebrated British Museum guide on something approximating toilet paper, at a price then roughly twice that of the London original (which has illustrations on good coated stock), driving the latter from the American market through copyright restriction; such cynics can rest assured that this time Indiana has done a good job of printing, and by making the plates from the original photographs they have made some of these plates better than in the previous publications. Not all are satisfactory, however: at this date it really is a pity to find the Mt. Sinai mosaic and icons represented by miserable copies after Sotêriou's publications, and of the three photographs of coins of Justinian II two are badly out of focus and one is generally unsharp. The text of each article is, of course, unchanged, but Kitzinger does give us seven pages of "postscripts." Here he is much too self-effacing, listing recent discussions of the subjects of his own articles with hardly a hint of the replies or expansions he might in some cases make. There is also a full list of Kitzinger's own publications through 1975. The editor contributes a pompous introduction and a useful index, which, however, does not index the postscripts.

These articles have stood the test of time. Perhaps the one which seems most dated is the 1958 paper on art from Justinian to Iconoclasm. As Kitzinger records in his postscript there has been a lot of scholarly activity in this area since 1958; some of his conclusions have been challenged, but he does not want to modify his position on any major issue. Neither, in general, would I, but for my own detailed review of the problems of this period, built on the foundations of Kitzinger's article, see Byzantine Studies Conference, *Abstracts of Papers* (Cleveland, 1975), pp. 9-28. On the other hand, by now the shape of his article seems strangely distorted by the space and patience he devoted to refuting various old mistakes. Even in 1958 it was an excess of caution and politeness for him to trouble to give the *coup de grâce* to the myth of an Alexandrian style. By now it is a waste of a student's time to read that kind of argumentation; fortunately for our students we can look forward to Kitzinger's fresh survey of this material in the book derived from his Slade Lectures at Cambridge, now in the press with Faber and Faber.

That raises a basic problem in economics. In view of our shrinking library budgets, at $22.50 this book is not a gift horse. It is too expensive for students (except graduates

who expect to stay in the field) or for multiple copies in an undergraduate library. The audience is therefore restricted to serious libraries and specialists in the field, and the latter will presumably have ready access to a library with the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* the *Art Bulletin* and a Xerox machine. On the other hand, congress publications and *Festschriften* are less accessible, even to resourceful undergraduates, and reprinting from the *Zbornik radova* dedicated to Ostrogorski the article on portraiture has rescued from undeserved obscurity a crucial study in the iconography of styles.

One must follow with the Utilitarian's question: reprinting which articles would have yielded the greatest good for the greatest number? It is too much to ask for the masterful early monographs on the Horse and Lion Tapestry, the mosaics at Nikopolis, or the Coffin of St. Cuthbert, especially as these are all commonly available in university librairies. But one must protest the omission of the 1934 dissertation, *Römische Malerei vom Beginn des 7. bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts.* It certainly will not be superseded in our lifetime, and it is a bibliographical rarity of the first order. Of course one weeps to think of the enormous waste of ink and paper that could have been spared had his dissertation been widely read in the decade after its publication. But it is not too late to learn from it now, and no serious student of the period should be without a copy of it always at hand. Indiana has failed us here, and by omitting one other neglected essential guide, the article on Coptic sculpture in the 1938 *Archaeologia.* Nothing published on this material since then has approached it in its combination of broad perspective, careful observation of detail, and historical common sense. Thoughtful study of that article could even have saved many museums, collectors, and publishers from the epidemic of forgeries that flooded the market some dozen years ago. Of course every specialist will ask for other articles, easily justifying two volumes, but a decent respect for utility and the gaps in many libraries would at least require substituting these two for something more easily available.

One final quibble: to announce Kitzinger's name on a new book entitled *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* raises false hopes and may sell unexpected copies. Consumer protection demands that the subtitle *Selected Studies* should come first. Even so, we must accept gratefully what we are offered. The people will tell of his wisdom, and the congregation will show forth his praise.

David H. Wright *University of California, Berkeley*

John T. A. Koumoulides and Christopher Walter. *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments at Aghia in Thessaly, Greece: The Art and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon.* Foreward by Sir Steven Runciman. London: Zeno Booksellers and Publishers, 1975. xviii, 77 pp. 36 illustrations and 24 drawings. Cloth £3.50. Paper £2.50.

This slight but very elegantly produced cooperative volume by Professor Koumoulides, a historian at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, and Dr. Walter, of the Institut des Études Byzantines in Paris, is a model of conciseness and at the same time of completeness. It describes the art and architecture of the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon, situated in the township of Aghia in the district of Aghia at the foothills of Mt. Kissavos, which in antiquity was known as Mount Ossa, some thirty-two kilometers east of Larissa. The area has been little explored or even visited by archaeologists, nor has the monumental history of the region been studied systematically. A preliminary exploration of Aghia was made in the summer of 1966, followed by successive visits in the summers of 1967 and 1968 by Professor Koumoulides. The result was a project that included work on the conservation of the church, refectory, abbot's tower and courtyard of the monastery of Saint Panteleimon; a thorough investigation, registration, and photo-

graphing of all Byzantine monuments on the district of Aghia; and a general survey and mapping of the region. The authors of this volume, however, present us primarily with a survey of post-Byzantine remains.

The project was begun in the summer of 1969 and successfully completed by the end of the fourth summer in 1972. The present volume provides both verbal and pictorial descriptions of the work. Dr. Walter's collaboration consists principally of the detailed presentation of the iconography of the paintings for which he hopes "the plans published here might serve as a paradigm for post- Byzantine iconography" (p. xviii).

The text of this brief report deals mostly with the decoration of the quincunx or cross-in-square church, divided for purposes of description into six zones (cf. the plans in the book): Zone A, portraits of saints (mostly full-length); Zone B, more portraits of saints (mostly busts in medallions), scenes from the lives of the saints, and the Communion of the Apostles; Zone C, scenes of the Virgin, New Testament parables, types from the Old Testament, and bust portraits in the spandrels of the arches; Zone D, New Testament scenes, evangelists, prophets, more saints, and types from the Old Testament; Zone E, New Testament scenes; Zone F, Passion Cycle, prophets, the celestial procession, and Christ. The simple rectangular narthex is briefly described, as is the refectory located opposite the church and the two-storied abbot's tower. The subjects of the paintings are described according to their location in the sanctuary, *prothesis,* the *diaconicon,* and the *naos,* as well as by zones. The predominating subjects are the Virgin, the saints, and the liturgy. In the narthex the Last Judgment is juxtaposed to a series of themes emphasizing such tenets of Christian morality as caring for the needy, forgiveness of sinners, love of mankind, and faith in the Holy Trinity.

Three inscriptions give us the dates 1548 (south wall of the church), 1613 (inside the narthex over the west door), and 1721 (inside the refectory over the door) for the buildings. There is no dated inscription pertaining to the paintings in the body of the church, but it is assumed that the inscription in the narthex also refers to the paintings.

The reader will undoubtedly agree with Sir Steven Runciman when he acknowledges in his Foreword that "The publication of this study is valuable not only because of the intrinsic quality of the work at St. Panteleimon, but perhaps still more because St. Panteleimon represents one of the few complete and almost unspoilt examples of post-Byzantine art in the Greek provinces; and there are many lessons to be learnt from it."

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments at Aghia in Thessaly, Greece provides the student and investigator with original material on a virtually unstudied and undefined period of Greek painting. The authors also believe that the Church of St. Panteleimon can be used to test the *Painter's Guide* of Denys of Phurna. Certainly the present volume will raise many questions about Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments in Thessaly and will serve as an incentive to other scholars to investigate similar unexplored sites.

John E. Rexine *Colgate University*

Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice. Edited by Giles Robertson and George Henderson. Edinburgh: At the Edinburgh University Press, 1975. xii, 335 pp., no index, 2 maps, 12 illustrations, 207 plates. £12.00.

D. Talbot Rice delivered his inaugural lecture as the Watson Gordon Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University in 1934. The intention of this collection of essays edited by two members of his department was to mark his seventieth birthday and retirement, but the book has appeared after his death in 1972 as a memorial volume of twenty-two papers, mostly in the field of Byzantine art. The interests of the art historian honored here might be characterized as broad-ranging rather than deep (a bibliography of his publications is included at the end of the book), and the papers appropriately cover a broad field. As any short review that is not simply a list of contents can only mention

an arbitrary selection, it seems worth signalling a number of papers that I have found particularly useful.

J. Beckwith publishes a number of carved rock crystals which increase the repertory of works of art from the period between Justinian and Iconoclasm; he suggests that this medium was used for the decoration of elaborate reliquaries. I. Akrabova-Jandova describes various pieces of glazed ceramics from ninth- and tenth-century Preslav, and discusses the use of such figural reliefs for the decoration of liturgical furniture. A. H. S. Megaw records glazed ware from the excavation of "Saranda Kolones" at Paphos, discussing dishes which had been in current use when the castle was destroyed in the earthquake of 1222.

K. Weitzmann offers the suggestion that one important group of early twelfth-century icons, now in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, was the production of Cypriote artists working in the monastery. His argument as presented depends on the hypothesis that the frescoes of Asinou characterize local Cypriote work of the beginning of the twelfth century, whereas those of Hagios Chrysostomos represent a different stylistic tradition, probably due to the presence of an artist coming from Constantinople. This hypothesis is in contradiction to the findings of D. Winfield, who has emphasized the similarities of the two decorations, attributing the work at Asinou to a pupil of the Chrysostomos Master ("Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou. Byzantine Painters at Work," *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεφνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, II (1972), 285-91). Although Weitzmann's argument is weakened by this new study of the frescoes, his suggestion is not actually falsified, and remains a historical feasibility.

One welcome result of the publication of this book is the appearance of an excavation report written by M. Gough shortly before his death. The results of work done between 1957 and 1959 are reported, and the small church *extra muros* at Dağ Pazari in Isauria (about 10 km. from Alahan) is described and dated to the period around 500. A mass of information is given in a long and densely footnoted paper by D. Bullough on early medieval representations of rulers. Some of his abrasive criticisms of art historians for their invalid uses of historical data seem all too firmly on target; for example, he castigates a suggestion that the identification of the Colossus at Barletta as the Emperor Heraclius is supported by the statue's position outside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which contains a relic of the True Cross. It is pointed out that this church is a twelfth-century foundation, and also that the Colossus was moved to its present site only in 1491. One is left to speculate whether Talbot Rice would have been amused.

Robin Cormack *University of London*

Demetrios G. Tsamis, ed. *Δαβὶδ Δισυπάτου, Δόγος κατὰ Βαρλαὰμ καὶ 'Ακινδύνου πρὸς Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν*, *Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται*, 10. Thessaloniki: *Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν 'Ερευνῶν*, 1973.

This work is a critical text of a treatise by David Disypatos, a close friend of the famous mystic Gregory Palamas. It is another manifestation of the current interest in the hesychastic movement of the fourteenth century. Much has already been done around the person and works of Palamas, but not enough about the associates of this theologian, who played no small role in the supporting and defense of the mystic. Tsamis undertakes to contribute to the better understanding of one of these capable associates, David Disypatos.

A very useful introduction precedes the text. The information on the life of the monk David is quite meagre, and covers only the period 1336-54, merely eighteen years. It appears that he belonged to an old aristocratic family, related to the Paleologos dynasty. As a close friend of Palamas, he did his utmost, as the text indicates, to support

and promote the views of Gregory. The work under consideration was written during the civil war of 1341-47. Tsamis suggests that the date of publication lies between October, 1341, and the end of September, 1342, when Palamas was arrested.

David got himself in trouble when Akindynos requested him to intervene in the conflict between Gregory Palamas and Barlaam of Calabria, in order to prevent a possible split in the church. Specifically, David was asked to induce Palamas to moderate some of his views which Akindynos considered dangerous. However, David later turned against both Akindynos and Barlaam. Nikolaos Kavasilas, the person to whom the treatise was addressed, had not yet taken sides in the conflict. David's avowed purpose was to get Kavasilas to abandon his neutrality and to convince him to support Palamas' friends. Tsamis doubts the date of birth of Kavasilas as established by various scholars (R. Guilland, F. Vernet, and R. Loernertz). He himself conjectures the year 1307, and promises a special study on the matter in the future.

Tsamis has given us the first critical text on the treatise in question. The work is found in five manuscripts: *Athous Dionysiou 194* (XIV century), *Marcian 153* (XV), *Paris 1247* (XV) and *1238* (XIV-XV), and *Vatican 704* (XIV–XV). *Parisinus 1247* is considered to have the best text. Tsamis relies primarily on this codex and rarely departs from it, except for minor, obvious errors. He has avoided the customary philological exercises by not trying to establish a stemma to show the exact relationship of the various manuscripts.

John P. Cavarnos *Portland State University*

Constantine N. Tsirpanlis. *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence: A Historical Re-Evaluation of His Personality.* Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται, 14. Thessaloniki: Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 1974. 125 pp.

The author's purpose in this book is to offer a character study of Mark Eugenicus, monk, bishop, theologian, chief spokesman of the Greeks in the public sessions of the Council of Florence (1438-39) and very influential in the many private meetins that the Greeks held among themselves during that council. He begins with an introduction outlining the historical background, the sources to be employed and the *curriculum vitae* of Mark. This is followed by accounts of Mark's relations with various personalities of the council and (in another chapter) of his political views. Chapter 3 is devoted to information about Mark's brother, John; chapter 4 to Mark's beliefs about Purgatory and the *Filioque* (both debated in Italy); and chapter 5 to a criticism of the views on Mark of some modern authors.

Professor Tsirpanlis is an enthusiastic admirer of Eugenicus, as for very many reasons he has a right to be. He would have been more likely to carry his readers with him–at least those who have some knowledge of the Council of Florence and its circumstances–if he had tackled his thesis in a more scholarly way. Before he began to write he must have been aware that the editors of the two main Greek sources, Syropoulus's *Memoirs* and the *Greek Acts* of the council, were critical of the *Memoirs* as a reliable historical source and that both, especially myself, had written at length explaining why. He should, therefore, have offered his readers some serious reasons of internal criticism of the sources to justify his total reliance on the suspect *Memoirs.* Instead he accepts them as the complete embodiment of truth, relying on the opinion of an author who wrote some eighty years before the latest critical edition of the *Acts* was published (p. 33). He also claims that I seem to contradict myself but, had he looked at the context of my remarks, he would have seen that in one statement I was dealing with the discourses of the council, in the *Acts* proper, and in the other "we are concerned only with the Descriptions" added to the *Acts,* and that both statements are true.

The same uncritical attitude is shown elsewhere. In an article of 1958 I gave many arguments for considering as spurious a tractate published under the name of Amiroutzes. The author rejects my conclusions, not by refuting the arguments, but because "Greek scholars...accept its authenticity," and in a note he mentions writings of two such, published several years *before* my article appeared (p. 35). He quotes snippets from writers and ignores their context. Joseph of Methone is portrayed as condemning the unionists of the council for venality and as exonerating only Eugenicus, whereas he is in fact repeating a claim made by Eugenicus in order to refute it (pp. 36, 99). Prof. Tsirpanlis presents also the unionist Patriarch Gregory in the very passage that he cites, states the contradictory, and goes on to say that Eugenicus had received as much money as the rest of the Greeks, viz., passage money, maintenance money and other occasional grants (p. 99). Several references are misleading for they do not prove the point that the author is really making (e. g., p. 47, n. 17, repeated p. 54, n. 77, to prove the *venality* of Bessarion). Some attest the opposite (e. g., p. 41, n. 123; the emperor states expressly that he did *not* appoint Eugenicus exarchos). There are various minor but curious mistakes. The author is convinced that John VIII was the brother, not the son, of Manuel II († 1425) (p. 48). He seems to confuse Demetrius of the Morea (to whom the letter was actually sent) with a David (of Trebizond?) (p. 71). Bessarion was never a classmate of Mark's; they had some of the same teachers but at an interval of many years (p. 39). The last item in the list of Mark's unpublished writings is wrongly attributed to him; actually it is a letter of Patriarch Germanus (cf., J. Gill, "An Unpublished Letter of Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople (1222-1240)," *Byzantion*, 44 [1974], 138-51).

The author is not alone in overrating Syropoulus's *Memoirs*. Nor is he alone in esteeming Mark as a holy man, an ascetic, consistent in his principles and not afraid to suffer for them. I, too, admire Mark for all that. But Mark *was* obstinate when, so as not to have to admit his error, he insisted that everything in the writings of the Latin Fathers that favored the doctrine of the *Filioque* was interpolated by later Latins to bolster up their case against the Greeks. Bessarion was nearly speechless with amazement when he heard Eugenicus propound this view and even Scholarius stigmatized it as "the height of stupidity." On this incident the author says not a word.

One might think of Mark Eugenicus as a kind of *Athanasius contra mundum*. But Athanasius had a council with him: Eugenicus, against.

Joseph Gill, S.J. *Campion Hall, Oxford*

Kurt Weitzmann. *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons.* Vol. I: *From the Sixth to the Tenth Century.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976. 107 pp. 34 illustrations, 38 color and 122 black-and-white plates. $85.00.

On the jacket, Hugo Buchthal is quoted as saying: "This book is the most outstanding single contribution to the study of pre-iconoclastic Byzantine art to appear in this century." No responsible reviewer would dispute this judgment, though he might wish to qualify it in the light of his own observations. The uniqueness of the material and the monumental quality of this first part of the catalogue, awaited for nearly two decades, are beyond question. The following remarks, then, represent merely one reader's reflections and reservations.

What problems there are derive directly from the uniqueness of these panels. Any attempt at dating and localizing many of them must recognize that frequently other icons at Sinai (and the four taken to Kiev by Porphyrii Uspenskii) are the only proper *comparanda*. Theoretically, therefore, the argument runs the risk of being circular. It is against this background that one must consider the findings most likely to engender or, rather, to further existing controversy: the ascription of the largest group of icons to

Palestine "or perhaps more precisely (to) Jerusalem" (p. 6) and the assignment of four panels (B. 32-B. 35) to the seventh-eighth centuries and some five others to the eighth or eighth-ninth centuries. The reasoning is, first, stylistic, and summarized in Weitzmann's general argument against the Egyptian origin proposed by George and Maria Sotêriou: the Palestinian icons display "a relatively stronger (sc. than Coptic works) preservation of hellenistic form with their undulating outlines, livelier poses and more vivd expression of the eyes." Secondly, it is iconographical: the argument from the *loca sancta* most fully set out in Weitzmann's article in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 28 (1974). Yet neither of these criteria is necessarily applicable to the half-length figure of the Virgin holding the Child within a clipeus on her breast (B. 28). Iconographical parallels are found, as the author points out, from Rome to Armenia; and the condition of the icon is too poor to permit a thorough stylistic analysis. For its Palestinian origin and a date of "about (the) seventh century," the author depends upon two works at Sinai, the Abraham and Jephthah panels (B. 29, B. 30) in encaustic on marble in the church. This seems a reasonable course, as B. 28 is also an encaustic work (like many of the earlier icons) even if its colors have been dreadfully damaged (by fire?). But the argument from material analogy can hardly bear the weight of inference imposed upon it. The date and origin of the painters of these Old Testament panels are far from certain and, in the discussion of the Abraham picture, the evidence of B. 28 itself is drawn upon.

Of course, it does not follow that the conclusions, as opposed to the method of reasoning, are faulty. Yet the sense of a "major coherent group" (p. 7) which is large enough to include both the Virgin and Child (B. 28) and the St. Eirene icon (B. 39), here dated to the "eighth-ninth centuries" and utterly different–in its drapery folds, the form of the eyes, the way objects are held in the hands–is so broad as to be hardly useful.

It is remarkable–and perhaps to be explained only by the ravages of time–that among the sixty-one icons catalogued here there is no significant echo of the apsidal mosaic in the church. Weitzmann stresses the importance of the holy sites of the monks of Sinai, yet we have no reflection in these panels attributed to Constantinople or to Palestine of the great Transfiguration which the author has frequently suggested was made by artists from the capital. In this connection it should be noted that the icon of the Pantokrator (B. 1), here reaffirmed to have been brought from Constantinople in the first half of the sixth century, and the Christ in the Peter icon (B. 5), to which the author assigns a similar origin and a possibly later date, offer a type and coloration of Christ different from that of the mosaic. In the latter, his hair falls equally upon both shoulders (as also on the Cross of Justin II and the coins of Justinian II's first reign), his beard is forked at the end and his hair is dark blue; moreover, the cross in his nimbus does not flare at the ends. In the icon, on the other hand, Christ's hair is brown heightened with purple and falls on his left shoulder; his beard is rounded and his halo has what numismatists call a cross *pattée* (cf. Grierson, *DOC* II, pt. 1, 98). The gesture of blessing is made quite differently. There is, of course, no reason why two different types of Christ, colored unlike in these two dissimilar media, should not have come from Constantinople. Indeed, the coins of the late seventh-early eighth centuries demonstrate such a possibility. But, given that some of these icons were hung in the church (how and precisely where is a problem that Weitzmann is the first to confront), one is given pause by the apparent absence of connection with or impact of the most prominent work of art at the monastery.

Occasionally, Weitzmann introduces for comparison other provincial monuments as, for example, the wall paintings of Cappadocia in relation to two Crucifixion icons (B. 36 and B. 50). It seems to me highly unlikely that the long-haired Bad Thief, identified as Ἔκτας on one and apparently endowed with breasts on both these panels, is female as the author proposes. (No exegentical basis for this interpretation is suggested.) Not only, as he notes, is the thief of B. 50 lightly bearded, but Γεσας, the long-haired thief at Kiliçlar kilise (Jerphanion, *Cappadoce,* plate volume I, pl. 51, 1; Restle, *Byz. Wandmalerei,* II, pl. 258), is clearly male, as is the more hirsute of the two thieves on the Crucifixion

page of the Rabula Gospel. (The application of a naturalistic criterion such as breast development would transmute the nude, male personifications in *Paris gr. 139* and, for a later period, unsex the Christ of the Passion scenes of Nerezi.) The Kiliçlar fresco also weakens one part of the case for dating B. 36 in the eighth century. Weitzmann oserves that the epithet O ΑΓΙΟC is missing before John's name "which would not have been the case in later representations of John's under the Cross." But this omission is found at Kiliçlar kilise, ca. 900, and a little later at Tavsanli kilise.

In the text the names of Cappadocian chapels are still transliterated *à la* Jerphanion and not in their modern Turkish form. The term "Palaestine"—neither Greek nor English—is also curious. Other editorial oversights include "Charzidakis" for Professor Weitzmann's collaborator (p. 93, n. 9) and "Lazrev" for Lazarev (p. 102, n. 2). One is astonished to find in a book of the Princeton University Press such solecisms as "preceeding" (p. 21). But these blemishes are the merest spots on a sumptuous and indispensable book. Anyone who has not studied the icons themselves can have little idea of the near perfection of the color plates. Checking them against my own notes on the colors (made in Spring 1974), I was continually surprised by the accuracy of John Galey's photographs and the fidelity of the Swiss reproductions. In contrast not only to the polychrome travesties in the Sotêrious' album, perhaps forgivable in 1956, but also to the acid blues and greens visited on the apse mosaic in the plate volume devoted to the monastery buildings (Ann Arbor, 1973), the reader has almost a substitute for a prolonged period of study *in situ* (necessary since only a fraction of the number of icons is displayed at any one time). For this achievement Weitzmann, of course, is primarily responsible.

The prime virtue of the book lies not in its speculations about any of the panels' archetypes nor in its theoretical underpinnings, but in the fact that its author has looked more keenly and longer than anyone else at these works and recorded what he has seen. This is the fruit of autopsy for which there is no substitute. The result is a meticulous and almost complete archaeological record (missing, as the author acknowledges, are notations of the nature of the wood employed and sometimes of the painting medium—data which certainly cannot be deduced from the photographs and often not even by the layman confronting the panel itself). We are even given specific accounts of the sometimes complicated carpentry of these icons. In short, we have precisely what one seeks and so often fails to find in a basic publication. If stylistic analysis and further iconographical investigation should later require some reassessment of the attributions—and the author of this review is painfully aware of having contributed only negatively to such a task—the starting point for such revisions can only be this great book.

Anthony Cutler *The Pennsylvania State University*

Denis A. Zakythinos. *Le Despotat grec de Morée. Histoire politique. Additions et Corrections* by Chryssa A. Maltézou. London: Variorum Reprints, 1975. iv, 395 pp. $44.20 (£16.00).

Denis A. Zakythinos. *Le Despotat grec de Morée. Vie et Institutions. Additions bibliographiques* by Chryssa A. Maltézou. London: Variorum Reprints, 1975. iv, 432 pp. 1 map, $44.20 (£16.00).

Variorum Press has provided Byzantinists with a revised edition of Denis A. Zakythinos' two-volume *Le Despotat grec de Morée*. The original text stands virtually unchanged, supplemented by lengthy notes at the end of both volumes. When Zakythinos published the first volume in 1931, the work was enthusiastically received by both Henri Grégoire and Franz Dölger. Even in 1951 Paul Lemerle recognized the book as solid, though in need of some revision. The second volume appeared in 1953. In 1975, both volumes were still cited as major works on the Byzantine Morea, but volume one, and to

a lesser extent, volume two called for alterations based on the results of research completed after Zakythinos had published. Chryssa A. Maltézou's *Additions et Corrections* are designed to provide these alterations.

Volume one was most in need of Maltézou's notes, not only because it is older, but because distinguished scholars have substantially expanded our knowledge of important political changes in Greece during the Palaeologan period and have refined the accepted chronology of events, rendering parts of Zakythinos' account absolete. Volume two, by contrast, deals with issues on which research in the last decades has not focussed, the institutions and the organization of society.

In general the additions and corrections of volume one provide the *peu de retouches* called for by Lemerle in 1951. Maltézou has given readers exhaustive references to new research on the sources of Morean political history. For example, she discusses the latest literature on the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (pp. 319-20), on the compilation of the *Chronicon maius* of Pseudo–Sphrantzes (pp. 320-21), and on the narrative of Sphrantzes himself (p. 321). She has also added references to all newly published sources, such as Manuel Raoul's letters in the edition of R.-J. Loenertz (p. 335). As topographical research, she frequently cites A. Bon's *La Morée franque* and the work of J. Longnon and P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle,* along with many studies on individual towns by Greek researchers (cf. pp. 319 and 321).

To correct Zakythinos' narrative Maltézou relies heavily on the articles of R.-J. Loenertz. For example, in describing the surrender of Monemvasia to the Venetians, Zakythinos confuses the events of 1384 with those of 1394. Maltézou corrects him with reference to Loenertz, "pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse," *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* (Roma, 1970) (p. 341).

I have only three criticisms. Maltézou cites Gunther Weiss' important work, *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser, und Mönch in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, only once, in connection with the Cantacuzenus family (p. 335). References to its important chapters on the late Byzantine aristocracy and the political cliques of the era would have been most useful in a note on the Morean nobles and the frequent aristocratic conspiracies (p. 352). Second, Klaus-Peter Matschke, *Fortschritt und Reaktion in Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert*, should have been cited in connection with the *gasmuli* (p. 321). Finally, Maltézou might have provided a descriptive bibliography of works dealing with general questions regarding the despotate. For example, F. Masai, *Plêthon et le Platonisme de Mistra* appears only in the notes concerning Plethon (p. 351), but Masai's chapter one (pp. 25-65) offers some interesting comments on the general history of the Byzantine Peloponnese, comments which ought to be compared to Zakythinos' historical perspective.

The *Additions bibliographiques* to volume two are also good. Maltézou provides a wealth of material on local churches and monasteries (pp. 397-402). She also presents a good bibliography on administrative terms and late Byzantine prosopography. I would make only these critical observations. Maltézou again fails to cite Matschke and Weiss in the notes on the Peloponnesian *demoi* (p. 388) and on the aristocracy (p. 394), and she omits any reference to A. P. Kazhadan's works on the Byzantine peasantry (p. 394). In the notes on the final chapter dealing with the intellectual movements of the Morea (pp. 402-03), perhaps the section on Mistra's relations with Italy should have included Paul Kristeller's articles on the subject, published in *Renaissance Concepts of Man* (New York, 1972) and E. Garisi's "Platonici bizantini e platonici italiani," in *Studi sul platonismo medievale* (Firenze, 1958). Despite these omissions, the bibliographical additions to volume two are of considerable value in bringing Zakythinos' work abreast of modern research. They render it a more solid first step for scholars interested in the Despotate of the Morea.

Timothy S. Miller *Catholic University*

David Jacoby. *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine.* With a preface by Paul Lemerle. London: Variorum Reprints, 1975. xvi, 372 pp. 13.50.

This volume of the Variorum Reprints includes nine articles and one book review published between 1961 and 1971 by David Jacoby, Professor at Hebrew University, Jerusalem. The first three articles deal with demographic problems: the population of Byzantine Constantinople, the rural population of the Byzantine Empire in the last three hundred years of its existence, and the Jewish quarter at Constantinople. Here, as in the other studies in this volume, Professor Jacoby shows his profound knowledge of the sources. He examines the evidence minutely, and draws cautious conclusions which are often at variance with those of other scholars. This is the case particularly with regard to the population of Constantinople, which he places at a maximum of 400,000. Despite his careful examination of the sources, this figure is open to question, as has been pointed out by Peter Charanis, *Studies on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire* (1972), No. I. Jacoby's study on the demography of the Byzantine peasantry was the first important work on this topic, but it must now be supplemented, as a number of vital documents have sence been published, primarily in the series *Archives de l'Athos.* Some of the conclusions in his important contribution to the study of the Jewish quarter at Constantinople, published in 1967, have lately been challenged by Chryssa Maltezou in a paper given at the Fifteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies ("Il quartiere veneziano di Costantinopoli").

The rest of the volume is devoted to a large topic which Professor Jacoby has studied extensively, namely, the source material and the social and economic effects of the settlement of Westerners on Byzantine lands after the Fourth Crusade. Particularly important is the study on the Greek landowners, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," which poses a number of fundamental questions relating to the juridicial and economic position of the Greek landowners during and after the Frankish conquest, their assimilation or lack of it to the Latin conquerors, and the relationship between Western feudal forms and Byzantine quasi-feudal institutions, i.e., the *προνοία*, in the Morea. He finds that the Greek *archontes* originally held their lands under conditions different from those governing Frankish feudal lords, but that there was a process of assimilation through the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The interconnection between Byzantine and Western practices and institutions is examined further in the article concerning the *zovaticum,* a tax levied in the Venetian possessions of the Morea. A long study on the "Chronicle of the Morea" re-examines the date of composition of the various versions of this important source, and places them in their social milieu.

With these studies, Professor Jacoby has established himself as one of the major historians of Frankish Greece. The subject is one whose importance transcends the boundaries of the Morea or even of the Byzantine Empire, for here we are dealing with the interplay between essentially different social and political institutions. Their permutations and their significance for the life of the majority of the people, that is, the peasantry, when studied in detail, will provide useful insights into other historical situations, both medieval and modern, in which the process of colonization has resulted in a mixture of institutions and cultures. Professor Jacoby has done a great deal to illuminate this subject, in the studies included in this volume, in other articles, and in his monograph, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris, 1971).

Angeliki E. Laiou *Rutgers University*

Dictionary Catalog of the Byzantine Collection of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Harvard University. 12 vols. Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1975. $1,225.00.

I doubt that anyone would dispute the proposition that the best single library for Byzantine studies in the world is at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. It is possible that a few other libraries have more books on things Byzantine, but either the Byzantine holdings are engulfed in a general collection or they are dispersed in a series of subsidiary depositories. Dumbarton Oaks is a *Byzantine* library, uniquely and compactly, with some 84,000 volumes (including bound periodicals). The Library's acquisition policy has been quite consistent since its formulation in 1936: it buys all publications on Byzantine topics and topics of possible interest to Byzantine scholars. Thus in its forty-year history the collection has come to include items from Renaissance editions of Byzantine texts to current doctoral dissertations on Byzantine themes. Over the years the staff has not only studied publishers' catalogs but has also searched antiquarian lists for missing items, doing both with considerable skill and success. Currently it even orders items from proof sheets of the bibliographic section of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Desiderata* are searched and obtained, if necessary in photocopy. Interlibrary loan requests submitted by scholars in residence are also used as a guide to acquisitions. In short, the Dumbarton Oaks Library benefits from the fact that it is specialized in one field and aims at completeness in that field.

"Byzantine studies" at Dumbarton Oaks has a broader scope than is sometimes realized. Those who first determined the library's acquisition policy realized that the history and culture of the Byzantine Empire could not be understood in chronological or geographic isolation. Classical antiquity and post-Byzantine culture also had to be covered. Byzantine contacts and influence went far beyond the geographic limits of East Roman rule; hence medieval and Renaissance Italy, the Semitic East, the Islamic world, the Balkans, pre-Petrine Russia, the Caucasian peoples and the Turks have always had thorough bibliographic coverage, and wisely so. The Crusades and church history are other areas of notable strength. Medieval Western Europe is represented by a standard collection, except in art where the holdings are quite good. Necessarily included, too, are excellent collections of material in the disciplines that are traditionally "ancillary" to Byzantine art and history, the major thrusts of the collection: palaeography, codicology, papyrology, philology, epigraphy and numismatics. In other words, the Dumbarton Oaks Library is the closest approximation to a Byzantinist's dream this imperfect world has been able to produce; even signigicant journal articles often appear in the card catalog.

Anyone who tries to do Byzantine research, particularly "in the provinces," will be very grateful to G. K. Hall and Company for reproducing the card catalog of this collection and will be well advised to persuade the reference librarian at his institution to purchase it. The potential usefulness of these twelve volumes, even to a scholar with access to a "good" research library, is hard to exaggerate. Byzantinists will now find themselves looking here in preference to the printed catalogs of the Library of Congress, British Museum, Gennadeion, and New York Public Library Slavonic Division in order to fill out, for example, incomplete bibliographic references. More important, this *Dictionary Catalog* is the proper place to begin bibliographic surveys before embarking on new research projects, for in addition to the expected alphabetical author entires (which, for instance, make available at a glance the publication history of a Byzantine text), there are very good subject entries interfiled alphabetically, and cross references galore. These manageable and quite legible volumes, which will be supplemented at intervals to bring them up to date, belong next to the *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies Based on Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (see *Byzantie Studies,* 2 [1975], 186-87) in all research libraries frequented by scholars with Byzantine and cognate interests.

George P. Majeska *University of Maryland*

Riccardo Maisano. *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli.* Nobiltà dello Spirito. S. 2, 3. Napoli: Morano Editore, 1975. 177 pp. Lire 6500.

The content of this hitherto unedited sermon may not be of any significant theological, literary, or historical merit, but it does present a clear example of popular apocalyptic writing and a good insight into the religious attitudes of the uneducated classes and especially of the monks in the ninth century. This lengthy, repetitious homily is in the form of a vision of Daniel, actually a prophecy after the event, which, after disposing of some wicked iconoclasts, describes the end of the world during the reign of Nicephorus I and his son Stauracius. Whatever one may think of this literary genre, it is clear that Maisano has done a superb piece of research and writing, and that the publisher (Morano) has done a superb job of presenting it. The introduction is extremely thorough. Maisano discusses the text, the manuscript tradition, the style, historical background, philological problems, authorship, and date. He proves that the sermon was put together by two authors at different times and that one of them was not Patriarch Leo Stypa, to whom some have attributed it, but Leo, "a priest" of Constantinople. The text, only forty-five pages in length, is printed in large, clear characters, and accompanied by citations and critical apparatus. The text of a shorter, second redaction is also given. A very detailed commentary stresses matters of philological and historical interest. This is followed by a very good, literal Italian translation. The two sets of indices seem complete. In fact, everything is complete. This reviewer has the impression that everything that can possibly be said about this apocalypse has been said by Maisano in this book. As implied above, one may not regard compositions of this sort as very important or interesting, but they do form part of the mosaic of Byzantine life and civilization which scholars are trying to assemble. This small book will certainly help in that process, and it also gives us a model of how Byzantine texts should be presented to the scholarly public.

George T. Dennis, S.J. — *Catholic University of America*

Ihor Ševčenko, *"Ljubomudrejsij Kyr" Agapit Diakon: On a Kiev Edition of a Byzantine Mirror of Princes.* With a facsimile reproduction. Supplement to *Recenzija,* V/1 (Fall-Winter, 1974). Cambridge, Mass.: *Recenzija,* 1974. 32, xxxi pp.

This photographic reproduction of the exceedingly rare edition of a Slavic translation of Agapetus' *Hortatory Chapters (Expositio capitum admonitoriorum)* published at the Kiev Caves Laura in 1628 is of interest largely to Slavists. Professor Ševčenko's thirty-two page introduction, however, merits a much wider scholarly audience, including intellectual and cultural historians who deal with Byzantium, the Balkans, and Russia. Ševčenko advances arguments for narrowing the traditional dating of the original composition to the early years of the reign of Justinian the Great, and for attributing the older Slavic translation to tenth-century Bulgaria. Unraveling a series of cryptograms in the 1628 edition, Ševčenko deduces that the anonymous translator for that edition was Peter Mohyla, future Metropolitan of Kiev, and that there was in Kiev at that time at least a small coterie of savants who indulged in erudite polyglot puns to display their knowledge of Greek. Ševčenko's textual analysis makes clear that the 1628 publication was essentially a new translation based on printed Greek versions with occasional borrowings from the two earlier Slavic translations. The marginal glosses printed in the work reflect both the glossator's use of a printed Latin edition of Agapetus' "Mirror of Princes" and a certain originality. In short, the cosmopolitan milieu which produced the 1628 publication of Agapetus can easily be imagined cultivating "neo-Byzantine scholasticism" in the Kiev Academy a few years later, whence it would spread into Romania and Muscovy.

George P. Majeska — *University of Maryland*

Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines, 3, Part 2 (1976), 116.

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